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SHAKESPEARE'S FAIR YOUTH BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN: CENSORSHIP OF SAME-SEX AFFECTION IN CZECH AND SLOVAK SONNET TRANSLATIONS

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DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis has been composed solely by myself and that it has not been submitted, in whole or in part, in any previous application for a degree. Except where states otherwise by reference or acknowledgment, the work presented is entirely my own.

Eva Spišiaková

Edinburgh, 9 July 2018

ABSTRACT

Since the cultural turn and the publication of André Lefevere's *Translation, Rewriting and the Manipulation of Literary Fame* (1992), the field of translation studies has increasingly focused on the question of ideological influences in the translation process and the subsequent textual or paratextual censorship. While a broad range of studies identify a number of alterations, omissions or disappearances in the translation process under totalitarian or otherwise restrictive regimes (Fabre, 2007; Merino & Rabadán, 2002; Thomson-Wohlgemuth, 2007 among others), only a handful of them researches censorship of non-normative sexualities and identities (Baer, 2011b; Gorjanc, 2012; Linder, 2004). This thesis complements this still largely under-explored subject through an insight into the censorship of male same-sex affection in former Czechoslovakia and the present-day Czech Republic and Slovakia. Focusing on two key periods of the two countries' history, the communist era of 1948-1989 and the current democratic period that started with the Velvet Revolution, the project compares a series of consecutive translations in order to uncover possible patterns of censorship. The corpus of this work consists of Czech and Slovak translations of Shakespeare's sonnets, a poetry collection known for its potential for a homoerotic reading which became subject of controversy almost from the moment of its first known publication in 1609.

This project utilises a theoretical background borrowed from poststructuralism and queer theory, chiefly represented by the works of Foucault (1978), Sedgwick (1985, 1990) and Halperin (2002). One of the key questions that these scholars attempted to answer is how to successfully conduct research into the history of human sexuality, given the fact that its conceptualisation changes across temporal and spatial axes. It is based on the assumption that it is not possible to research the history of translation of non-normative sexualities without an awareness of these changing perceptions of the very basic terms like *homosexuality*. The key aim of this thesis is to introduce the theoretical frameworks from queer studies into a historical enquiry within the field of translation studies in order to test this hypothesis.

The methodological framework for this work was designed to suit the large corpus used for this project, encompassing fifteen translations of a collection of 154 sonnets. It consists firstly of a quantitative methodology devised in order to uncover the potential shifts in the gender of the recipient of the sonnets, which is one of the crucial elements in the reading of the corpus as a collection of amorous poetry written by a man for another man or men. The second stage consists of a qualitative analysis of the translations which focuses on textual, contextual and paratextual features that will complement the macro-level insight of the quantitative part with micro-level observations.

The aim of this study is to uncover patterns of censorship related to same-sex affection and desire in the sonnet collection, place them into their respective historical context and finally to answer the question of whether there is a correlation between the socio-political changes in Czechoslovakia, the shifting conceptualisation of homosexuality throughout the various periods, and the strategies applied in Czech and Slovak sonnet translations.

LAY SUMMARY

Although it can look like translations are always smooth and impartial, the process of bringing a text from one language into another is far more complicated and can in many cases involve changes or even attempts at censorship. This happens most often when texts are translated in countries that have a restrictive, totalitarian political system, as was the case with the former socialist Czechoslovakia. I am interested in seeing how and whether this political system influenced the translation of Shakespeare's sonnets. Several of the poems in this collection seem to be written for a man, and many read them as gay love poems. I look at different translations of the sonnets into Czech and Slovak both during the socialist times and in the present-day democratic era, and explore how and whether the translators tried to hide or change those parts of the sonnets that suggest such a reading. This will help me to understand how the way homosexuality is understood in different time periods influences the work of publishers, editors and translators.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

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INTRODUCTION

On 17 November 1989, a Prague demonstration led by the town's university students set into motion a series of nation-wide events that became known in Czechoslovakia's history as the Velvet Revolution. This largely peaceful process ultimately achieved the demise of the Communist party after more than four decades of totalitarian rule over Czechoslovakia, and the country's return to democracy. While the Velvet Revolution stands out through its relatively peaceful and non-violent character, it was a part of a large-scale process that swept through the countries of the then Eastern Bloc that led to the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War in the early years of the 1990s. These changes had a far-reaching effect on virtually every aspect of the lives of Czechoslovak citizens, including the production of books, as publishing changed from a state-owned and strictly controlled tool for the targeted education of the population into a fast-growing industry fighting for success in the free capitalist market without official limitations on press or the freedom of speech. The regime changes also brought immediate shifts for the non-heterosexual population of Czechoslovakia, which transformed within the span of a few weeks from a frequently persecuted and virtually invisible entity into a minority with its own, strong voice and with immediate demands for a change of their position within the society. This work explores with the help of theoretical frameworks from queer theory how this series of profound changes reflected onto translations of texts with clear homoerotic elements, using William Shakespeare's sonnets collection as its corpus.

RESEARCH TERRITORY AND INTRODUCTION OF THE PROJECT

The interdisciplinary premise of this thesis combines elements from queer theory with the study of translations and hopes to contribute primarily to the fast-growing, albeit still relatively new, field of queer translation studies. Christopher Larkosh (2011:2) suggests that the birth of this field dates back to the late 1970s and the pioneering work of the Anglo-Dutch, openly gay translation scholar James Holmes. However, actual research on the possible connections between queer and translation studies was relatively slow to follow, even after the birth of queer theory in the 1990s which coincided with the cultural turn in translation studies. It was Keith

Harvey's ground-breaking monograph on French translations of camp language (2003) that finally signalised a turn towards the merging of the two fields, and several isolated studies followed in the early years of the new millennium (Katz, 2004; Mira, 2004; Rodrigues, 2004). The collection of papers named *Re-engendering Translation* (2011) edited by Christopher Larkosh, as well as the special issue of the journal *In Other Words* (2010) edited by B.J. Epstein were among the first works focusing at least partly on translation issues related to sexuality and identity, and in the case of Epstein's work, explicitly using the term *queer* in their introduction. Further studies followed, broadening the scope of research across cultures and histories as well as literary genres to include audio-visual translations (Ranzato, 2012; Valdeón García, 2010), paratextual features (Mazzei, 2014) as well as the first works exploring the translation of transgender characters (Asimakoulas, 2012). These efforts were further supported by the first *Queer Translation* conference organised by the Centre for Translation Studies at the University of Vienna in March 2015. The past three years finally brought the publication of two major works focusing directly on issues of translation within a queer context; *Queer in Translation* edited by B.J. Epstein and Robert Gillet (2017) and *Queering Translation, Translating the Queer* by Brian James Baer and Klaus Kaindl (2018). They are complemented by two special journal issues, one from *Comparative Literature Studies* (Spurlin, 2014), bridging the two closely related fields, and the other from *Transgender Studies Quarterly* (Gramling & Dutta, 2016), bringing much-needed attention to the still under-represented field of gender identity into translation studies.

While some of these works focus on present-day issues related to LGBTQ+ activism (Bassi, 2018; Kulpa, Mizielińska, & Stasińska, 2012) or translations of specific subcultural elements (Gualardia & Baldo, 2010; Tsang & Ho, 2007), a number of scholars use existing literary works from different historical eras in order to uncover patterns of censorship of overt or covert queer elements and their possible links with the socio-political and cultural context in which they were published. Several of these studies focus on works translated under restrictive regimes known for censorial interventions in the publishing process (Linder, 2004; Tyulenev, 2014; Yu, 2011) and some specifically target the communist totalitarianism in the former Eastern Bloc (Baer, 2011b; Gombár, 2018; Gorjanc, 2012). While these works frequently apply

various elements from queer theory, one of the key questions remains unanswered within the field: how to conduct historical research of concepts like *homosexuality* that shift significantly across time and space, and whose changing character inevitably reflects on the translated texts. This research aims to fill in this gap at the intersection between queer theory and translation studies by introducing the question into an analysis of translations covering a significant part of two countries' history.

The inquiry into this problem is one of the core issues within queer theory and dates back to its poststructuralist foundation and Michel Foucault's work *The History of Sexuality* (1978), where he first questioned our seemingly unchanging perception of concepts related to gender and sexuality. His ideas were developed by the founders of queer theory itself, Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick (1985, 1990) and Judith Butler (1999), and later by David Halperin who attempted to create a framework for historical enquiries into the conceptualisation of male homosexuality (2000). In recent years, these questions significantly influenced the theoretical field of queer temporality which frequently challenges the linearity and predictability of queer history (Goldberg & Menon, 2005). This work synthesises the concepts and ideas from this strand of queer theory and introduces them as a theoretical framework into the field of translation studies. They will be used on a large-scale analysis of translations of Shakespeare's *Sonnets* (1609) during nearly a century of Czechoslovak and later Czech and Slovak history, with an emphasis on the elements of same-sex love and desire in the collection.

The sonnets were chosen as an ideal medium for this type of research for two main reasons; firstly, as a literary work from one of the most famous anglophone authors and often bestowed with the status of a literary classic, the sonnets have the potential to be translated regularly and frequently even in time periods when book publishing is severely restricted through ideological limitations. For these reasons, the sonnets were translated into relatively small linguistic communities like Czech and Slovak numerous times, and these translations did not stop even during the four decades of communist rule in the second half of the 20th century. The result are fifteen complete versions of the sonnet collection covering the time span from 1923 to 2010, with a relatively even distribution between the two key periods before and after the Velvet Revolution of 1989. This makes the corpus an ideal medium for observing and

analysing the implications of a changing socio-political situation as well as the shifting perceptions of sexuality on the work of the translators.

Secondly, while the possibility of a homoerotic reading of the sonnets caused considerable controversy from almost the moment of the collection's publication in 1609, the elements of same-sex love and desire are coded in a relatively ambiguous way. This means that small textual, contextual or paratextual changes can cause substantial shifts in the potential perception of the reader, and strongly suggest that the collection describes a heterosexual relationship or affection towards a friend or a family member. The nuances highlight the significance of the translators' decisions, inevitably influenced by their personal reading of the sonnets as well as their own perception of sexuality in general and male relationships in particular. This, together with the high regard in which many of the translators hold the author judging by the paratextual comments, opens the questions of self-censorship that could adjust the reading of the sonnets to the translator's own perception of it, or help to create or preserve a specific image of the author. These attributes of the collection make it highly suitable for the observation of possible censorial shifts and interventions, particularly as the relatively large number of the sonnets in the collection allows for an examination of reappearing trends in the individual translation strategies.

RESEARCH AIMS AND QUESTIONS

The key aim of this study is to introduce the issue of the shifting perception of non-normative sexualities across time periods and cultures from queer theory into the field of translation studies, and to verify if or to what degree this factor influences the translation process. Despite the fact that the two disciplines occupy similar discursive spaces between traditional binaries and boundaries, translation studies 'have been slow to integrate fully the concepts and theoretical instruments of queer theory' (Baer & Kaindl, 2018:1), and their mutual collaboration still offers vast scope for further explorations. Aside from this core objective, its further aim is to contribute to the largely unexplored area of translations produced in former Socialist Czechoslovakia and the present day Czech Republic and Slovakia, thus far represented within the field only by a brief study by Jaroslav Špirk (2008).

With these aims in mind, the core research question for this project is as follows: *Is there a correlation between the changing perception of non-normative sexualities across time and space as suggested in findings of queer theory, and the portrayal of same-sex affection and desire in a series of repeated translations over a correspondingly long time period?* The sub-question to this main research enquiry contextualised within this project will be: *How did the changing conceptualisation of male homosexuality before and after the regime change in 1989 Czechoslovakia affect the individual translation approaches towards Shakespeare's sonnets?*

The answer to these questions will be sought in a comparative analysis of all available full translations of Shakespeare's sonnets into Czech and Slovak, based on a combined quantitative and qualitative methodological approach. The scope of this analysis as well as the individual steps of this inquiry are described in the following sections.

SCOPE

Several theoretical, as well as practical limitations, had to be introduced into this work in order to create a meaningful place of enquiry and a manageable corpus. Firstly, while Shakespeare's sonnets, their translations and the paratextual material surrounding them create the corpus of this project, the thesis focuses solely on those elements of the poems that in some way relate to the question of same-sex love and desire. While it would be possible to approach the collection from the viewpoint of poetry in translation studies, which is a well-developed branch of the field, I decided to not use this perspective for two reasons. Firstly, the limited scope of the project does not allow for an in-depth analysis of this aspect of the sonnets; secondly, several studies already cover this area of enquiry (Da Silva, 2009; Lupić, 2003), including a study by Rubáš (2000) that compares the metre and rhyme scheme as well as other poetical attributes of nine Czech translations of the sonnets. The only two works within translation studies that directly consider the possibility for a homoerotic reading of the sonnets is one of Dirk Delabastita's oldest papers on target text-oriented translations (1985), and a chapter in Gideon Toury's seminal work *Descriptive Translation Studies - and Beyond* (2012:145-160). The result of both of these studies will reappear as a reference point throughout the analysis of this work.

Another line of critical enquiry that could potentially be applied to the presented corpus but that has been rejected for reasons of a limited scope is the framework of retranslation as introduced by the French scholar Antoine Berman (1990). His retranslation hypothesis 'presupposes that the reiterative (and therefore progressively accomplished) force of retranslation will bring about a recovery of the source text and its specificities, be they linguistic or cultural' (Deane-Cox, 2014:3), which to a certain degree aligns with the historical enquiry into the development of sonnet translations in the past century that is at the core of this research. However, the aim of this analysis is to test to what degree the changing perception of non-normative sexualities influences the translation process, which brings its own theoretical framework from queer theory that operates on a cyclical chronologisation of history, as opposed to the linear 'unearthing' suggested in retranslation hypothesis. For this reason, this framework was likewise omitted from this thesis.

The analysis for this project is based purely on the textual, paratextual and epitextual parts of the published translations. While it would be possible to conduct interviews with some of the translators of these collections and question them about their choices and strategies, I decided to not include these into the analysis. This is for reasons of both spatial limitations of this work, as well as because of the inherent imbalance such interviews would lead to, given the fact that a significant number of the translators in this corpus passed away long before the start of this project. For similar reasons, this work does not include systematic information about the critical reception of the sonnets from contemporary sources.

In terms of the practical limitations, the corpus was restricted to all full translations of Shakespeare's sonnets (meaning all 154 poems as printed in the quarto edition of 1609), excluding partial translations in poetry anthologies and similar sources. This corpus was further limited to sonnets 18 to 126 that carry the most obvious potential for being read as amorous poetry written by a man for another man or men. Both of these limitations were introduced in order to create a coherent, manageable corpus for the quantitative and qualitative part of the analysis, and the reasons underpinning these decisions will be explained in detail in chapter 3.

STRUCTURE OF THESIS

As the proposed project is rooted in historical research, the first chapter of this thesis will provide the necessary background to locate the following enquiries into their respective socio-political and cultural contexts. The first part of Chapter 1 introduces Shakespeare's sonnets as the source text for this work and provides a short overview of its critical reception history in anglophone countries. The second part of Chapter 1 focuses on the two target cultures into which the sonnets were translated, the Czech Republic and Slovakia. After a brief introduction of some of the key points in the history of both countries from the end of the First World War to the present day, it will provide the context for the two key areas pertinent to the enquiry introduced above. Firstly, it will explore the changing legal and societal position of Czechoslovakia's non-heterosexual population before and after the Velvet Revolution, and the impact these changes had on both the daily lives of these citizens as well as on the public perceptions of their status. The second part concerns the publishing industry in both countries with a particular focus on translations and compares how this area of production changed between the former socialist and current democratic periods.

Chapter 2 outlines the theoretical framework for this thesis with an overview of existing scholarship within the queer theory that directly focuses on the question of the conceptualisation of non-normative sexualities across different time periods and cultural environments. Starting with the poststructuralist work of Michel Foucault, it will map the evolution of this enquiry and the suggested frameworks related to it through the birth of queer theory itself in the 1990s, to the most recent works on queer temporality.

Chapter 3 outlines the data and methodology for this project. The data section introduces the fifteen translations of Shakespeare's sonnets that represent the corpus for this work, and then briefly describes the circumstances of their publication and the available profiles of their translators. The chapter then justifies the scope of this corpus and the limitations introduced in order to create a manageable body of text for analysis. The methodology section describes the two-part structure for this analysis consisting of a quantitative and qualitative stage, each followed by a brief discussion of the possible limitations together with suggestions on how to avoid them within this project.

With Chapter 4, the thesis moves towards the analysis of the corpus. Chapters 4 to 7 analyse the individual works of the following translators; Miroslav Macek (Ch.4), Jiří Josek (Ch.5), Jarmila Urbánková (Ch.6) and Václav Pinkava (Ch.7). These four editions of the sonnets stand out from the rest of the corpus with their markedly different approaches towards the element of same-sex affection in the sonnets. The four chapters provide a detailed overview of these differences, together with the implications these textual and paratextual interventions have on the potential for a queer reading of the poetry collection.

Chapter 8 closes the data analysis part of the thesis with an introduction of the remaining eleven translators from the corpus. Their work is divided along the chronological axis into versions published before the Velvet Revolution (Klášterský, Vladislav, Blaho, Vrchlický and Klášterský, Saudek et.al, Hron and Sedlačková) and during the post-revolutionary period (Hodek, Hilský, Feldek and Uličný). Following the same two-step pattern of combined quantitative and qualitative analysis, the chapter completes the picture of Czech and Slovak translations in the past hundred years, uncovering possible parallels in the individual translation strategies.

The concluding Chapter 9 of the thesis will then synthesise the results from chapters 4-8, place these into the wider context of shifting socio-political and cultural factors and frame them within the structures of the theoretical enquiry chosen for this project.

1. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

This chapter aims to provide a contextual background to the various historical and socio-political circumstances that had an impact on the different strands of this project. Section 1.1. will focus on Shakespeare's 1609 collection of sonnets that represents the core text for this thesis as the source for all fifteen translations used in the analysis. The overview will briefly introduce the circumstances of the collection's publication, the formal aspects of the poems and some of the central themes that run through the sonnets. The latter part of this section summarises some of the key points of the work's reception within the anglophone realm in order to illustrate the extent of the controversy surrounding the possibility that some of the poems could be dedicated to a male recipient.

Section 1.2. will offer the necessary historical and socio-political background to the fifteen target texts. The section opens with a brief overview of the history of the Czech Republic and Slovakia, with a particular focus on the 20th and 21st centuries as these align with the publication dates of the translations. Using the same timeline, section 1.3. will focus on the non-heterosexual population of Czechoslovakia and later day Czech Republic and Slovakia, and attempt to reconstruct their changing role in society using political and legislative changes as well as several oral histories collected in the past few decades. The following section 1.4. will turn towards the publishing industry and book production, with a particular focus on the four decades of communist totalitarianism in Czechoslovakia. Lastly, the final section 1.5. offers a brief overview of some of the linguistic features of the Czech and Slovak languages in comparison with English that will play a pivotal role in the quantitative and qualitative analyses of the corpus.

1.1 SHAKESPEARE'S SONNETS

The name of William Shakespeare, one of the most recognisable representatives of English literature worldwide, does not require an introduction. He is best known for being a highly prolific and talented playwright; the most recent edition of *Oxford Companion to Shakespeare* (Dobson & Wells, 2015) lists thirty-eight of his plays, together with two 'lost' ones whose existence is suggested by

external documents. Shakespeare the poet is perhaps a less obvious connection, and yet one of his works is so famous that it became a synonym for amorous poetry itself: his collection of 154 sonnets. Their history starts with a book in quarto[1] format titled *SHAKE-SPEARES SONNETS. Never before Imprinted* that was entered into the Stationer's Registry in London on 20 May 1609, a year when Shakespeare himself was forty-five and at the peak of his professional career. This version consisted of 154 poems in sonnet form, followed by a narrative poem in rhyme royal named *A Lover's Complaint*. While some of these sonnets were in circulation before this date in manuscript form, it is the first known date of the collection going into print. Some scholars suggest that the collection might have been printed without the consent of the author (Duncan-Jones, 1997:32), but this work operates under the assumption that its publication was intentional and authorised by Shakespeare.

The collection appeared at a point when the sonnet itself was gradually growing out of fashion in England, as the poetic form celebrated its greatest success around the 1590s (Blakemore Evans, 1996:5). The form was originally imported from Italy and then adjusted to the different metric and rhyming possibilities of the English language, creating the so-called English sonnet (later also Shakespearean, as opposed to the original Italian or Petrarchan sonnet). Its typical structure consists of fourteen rhymed lines in iambic pentameter with the rhyming pattern ABAB CDCD EFEF that are sometimes thematically divided into three *quatrains* or two *sestets*, and two final lines GG called a *volta* or a *couplet*. This structure is designed to achieve a gradual development of the central idea through the three quatrains or two sestets, with the couplet serving as a pivotal turning point that presents a conclusion, an answer to a rhetorical question or a contradiction. The fourteen lines of a sonnet offer enough space to describe a compact idea, making them ideal to express personal, self-reflexive and intimate thoughts, in the majority of cases of the amorous kind. The sonnet as a medium for love poetry reappears throughout Shakespeare's work in various forms; characters in *As You Like It* and *Much Ado about Nothing* write sonnets for their lovers, and Romeo and Juliet's conversations in the eponymous play are written entirely in sonnet form.

[1] A quarto is a book format that uses a single sheet of paper folded twice with text on both sides, producing eight separate book pages. This version of the sonnets is sometimes referred to simply as 'The Quarto'.

As sonnets are typically used for introspective and personal thoughts and are frequently open to a broad variety of interpretations, it is extremely difficult to offer a clear, unquestionable definition of what Shakespeare's sonnets are about. The poetic collection published in 1609 contains 154[2] sonnets, written from the first-person point of view of an unspecified narrator who refers to himself in several instances as 'the poet'. Several poems (32, 34, 89) in which this author refers to himself in third person suggest that this poet is male. The majority of the poems are addressed to an unnamed *you* or *thou*, and if read in their original order, readers can discern certain themes, divisions and clusters of topics within the collection. The largest of these subgroups is based on the fact that some of the sonnets are clearly dedicated to a male recipient, while others to a female one. All sonnets dedicated to a man are contained within the first 126 poems of the collection, and this part is usually referred to as the *Fair Youth* sequence. Sonnets dedicated to a female recipient are all within the last section between sonnets 127 and 154 that is known as the *Dark Lady* sequence[3]. The leading theme of both of these sections is love in all of its forms, ranging from glorification and worship of the addressee, through themes of jealousy, betrayal and forgiveness as well as the frequent pledge that the recipient will be immortalised for all eternity through the author's poetry. The sonnets also include other motives typical for Renaissance poetry, such as the ever-present *memento mori* that reminds the reader of the fleeting nature of human youth, beauty and riches, as well as occasional socio-political criticism, as famously described in sonnet 66 (*Tired with all these for restful death I cry*, l.1). The first seventeen sonnets of the collection are dedicated to the persuasion of a young man to get married and beget children, and this sequence is sometimes referred to as *Procreation Sonnets.* The last two sonnets of the collection appear to be epigrams on classic themes from Greek mythology and are not visibly connected with the rest of the themes. The sonnet collection also includes a dedication that runs as follows:

[2] With the exception of numbers 99 and 126 that deviate slightly from the typical English sonnet form.
[3] Exceptions are again presented by sonnets 41, 42, 133 and 134 that can be read as being addressed to two recipients, a man and a woman.

To the only begetter of these ensuing sonnets Mr W.H. all happiness and that eternity promised by our ever-living poet wisheth the well-wishing adventurer in setting forth.[4] *T.T.*

It can be reasonably assumed that the initials T.T. refer to the publisher Thomas Thorpe, who registered the sonnets for printing in 1609. Much research within Shakespearean studies has been dedicated to the uncovering of the identity of Mr W.H., as well as of the characters mentioned in the collection itself. Unlike the plays or Shakespeare's other poems that place the author into the position of a narrator of fictional stories, the sonnets as an introspective, private poetic form invite questions as to whether they express the author's own personal thoughts, feelings and experiences, particularly as they are written from the first-person point of view. It is not surprising that the consequent possibility that Shakespeare wrote some of these love poems for a male recipient elicited various and frequently confused reactions from their readers, and this controversy has followed the sonnets through four centuries to the present day. The attempts to conciliate Shakespeare with amorous verses written for another man include early attempts at censorship at the hand of John Benson (1640), who in his reprint of the collection under the name *Poems: written by Wil. Shake-speare. Gent.* edits some of the most obvious male markers from the sonnets into more neutral ones, and expressions like *sweet boy* (s.108) become *sweet-love* (p.52) instead. He also changes the printing order of the original collection, further disturbing the possibility to read the collection as a narrative with a male and a female recipient. More than a century later, John Malone in his re-edition of the sonnets (1790) first suggests that the poems have two recipients, the Fair Youth and the Dark Lady, which remains the most common and traditional way to read the sonnets to the present day. Malone himself struggled to come to terms with the possibility of a male beloved, referring to these elements as one of the sonnets' 'great defects' (Vickers, 1981:294). While the Romantic era of the 19th century 'rediscovered' the hitherto frequently neglected collection through Wordsworth's poetic claim that 'with this key | Shakespeare unlocked his heart' (1827:305), it is clear that many readers still struggled

[4] The modernised spelling of the dedication as well as of all sonnets quoted in this thesis are based on Katherine Duncan-Jones' Arden edition of the sonnets (1997).

with its meaning. While the poet Samuel Taylor Coleridge empathically claims that 'the sonnets could only have come from a man deeply in love, and in love with a woman' (Coleridge, 1990), the historian Henry Hallam admits to the presence of an 'idolized friend' in the sonnets but ends up wishing 'that Shakespeare had never written them' (1839:504). By the end of the century, Oscar Wilde's theory about the Fair Youth's identity is published in the form of a short story titled *The Portrait of Mr W. H.* (1889), and the sonnets themselves are cited during his trials for gross indecency. Wilde defended his relationship with men like Lord Alfred Douglas as based on the same 'deep, spiritual affection that is as pure as it is perfect' that can be found in the sonnets (Hyde, 1948:236), and therefore cannot be seen as wrong or criminal. The trials ended with Wilde being imprisoned for two years of hard labour, and literary criticism of the sonnets in the following decades carefully centre on the image of the Dark Lady (Duncan-Jones, 1997:80), suggesting that many readers feared the same persecution that Wilde had faced.

The reception in the 20th century in anglophone countries copies in many ways the large-scale social developments as the non-heterosexual population gradually gained visibility, followed by a backlash of homophobia. C.S. Lewis in his lectures on English literature admits that Shakespeare's language is 'too lover-like for that of an ordinary friendship'(1954:503), while W.H.Auden in the 1964 Signet Classic edition assures the reader that 'men and women whose sexual tastes are perfectly normal' never found any issues in the collection (1964:xxix). Eric Partridge, author of a glossary of Shakespearean slang *Shakespeare's Bawdy* from 1968 introduces his chapter entitled *Homosexuality* with the following words:

> Like most other heterosexual persons, I believe the charge against Shakespeare; that he was a homosexual; to be, in the legal sense, 'trivial': at worst, 'the case is not proven'; at best - and in strict accordance with the so-called evidence, as I see it - it is ludicrous. (1968:13)

Partridge's words perhaps best illustrate the anxiety some readers must have felt at the prospect of Shakespeare being associated with the newly visible non-heterosexual parts of the population, particularly when considered that his words were published a

mere year after the partial decriminalisation of homosexuality in England and Wales[5]. The first open claim of such an association is usually ascribed to Joseph Pequigney's *Such is my Love*, where he boldly writes that 'Shakespeare produced not only extraordinary amatory verse but the grand masterpiece of homoerotic poetry' (1985:1), at a time when the AIDS crisis brought renewed appeals for the visibility of non-heterosexual population in Western countries.

The question of whether there really was a young man for whom Shakespeare wrote some of the sonnets and what their relationship was like still remains open in the 21st century. The critical studies and commentaries on the sonnets I have amassed during my research range from the *Folger Library* edition's careful statement that 'there is simply too little information about Shakespeare's life on which to build arguments about his personal relationships or their intensity' (Mowat & Werstine, 2004:357), to the Scottish poet Don Paterson's blunt ''was Shakespeare gay?' [the question] is so stupid as to be barely worth answering, but for the record: of *course* he was' (2010:xiii, emphasis in original). The problem of whether we can apply relatively modern categories like 'gay' in this context is another frequently debated issue, and several scholars have dedicated parts of their research to the question of how the Elizabethan and later Jacobean society of Shakespeare's days perceived various signs of male same-sex desire and affection, most notably Smith (1991, 2000), Bredbeck (1992), Bray (1995), Digangi (1997), and Borris (2004). Some of the scholarship dedicated to the broader issues of historical chronologisation of same-sex desire will be part of the theoretical background of this thesis, where it will focus on the target cultures instead of the source culture of the sonnets.

This overview aimed to briefly introduce Shakespeare's sonnets as the source text for the fifteen translated target texts that form the core of this thesis. It also provided a condensed overview of the reception history of this collection in anglophone countries in order to illustrate the intensity with which the possibility of a male recipient of Shakespeare's sonnets was discussed throughout the history until the current day. The overview also emphasised the wide range of interpretations that the frequently vague language of the sonnets opens to its readers, as it was this ambiguity

[5] The Sexual Offences Act 1967 decriminalised private same-sex acts between men over the age of 21, excluding military and naval personnel.

that made me choose the sonnets as the key text for this project. These possibilities frequently hinge on the smallest semantical nuances and subtextual clues, which is why the different linguistic versions of this collection become such a compelling field for tracing shifts in translations, as well as the changes in interpretative possibilities these can cause.

1.2 BRIEF HISTORY OF THE CZECH REPUBLIC AND SLOVAKIA

Before advancing towards more detailed topics directly pertaining to the current project, it is necessary to provide a short outline of historical developments in the Czech Republic and Slovakia. This outline focuses on the past hundred years as these correspond with the time period when all of the translations in the corpus of this thesis were published.

At the beginning of the 20th century, both the Czech Republic and Slovakia were part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, a large dual monarchy that came into being after a political compromise between Austria and Hungary in 1867. While Slovakia had been a part of Hungary for almost a millennium since the early 10th century, the Czechs had formed their own kingdom of Bohemia in the late medieval period, which was gradually included into the growing Austrian monarchy in the 16th and 17th centuries. The collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire after the First World War resulted in a number of new state formations appearing on the map of Europe, including the Republic of Czechoslovakia founded on the 28 October 1918. One of the chief supporting arguments for joining the two countries was the closeness of the two native languages, Czech and Slovak. Despite being historically separated for almost a millennium, the two languages are still mutually intelligible and adult speakers from both countries usually do not require translation or interpreting between them.

The interwar period from 1918 to 1938 was an era of rapid economic growth and the building of an independent, democratic republic. This was interrupted by the rise of fascism in Central Europe and the outbreak of the Second World War that caused the first split between the two countries. The Czech Republic, mainly due to its large German minority, was occupied and gradually annexed as the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia to Nazi Germany following the Munich agreement in September 1938. Slovakia remained throughout the war as an independent Slovak

State led by a Nazi-controlled puppet government. These fascist regimes were opposed by Czech resistance groups collaborating with Allied powers, and by the Slovak National Uprising, an unsuccessful guerrilla campaign to overthrow the Nazi government in summer 1944. Both countries were liberated in May 1945 by joint U.S. and Soviet troops, and Czechoslovakia was restored to its pre-war form[6].

In February 1948, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia overtook the government in a Soviet-supported coup d'état, which soon led to the closure of borders with Western Germany and Austria and a definitive inclusion of the Czechoslovak Republic into the Eastern bloc of Cold War Europe. The period of Soviet control was characterised by a totalitarian government directly supervised by the Soviet Union, planned centralised economy and the expropriation of private property. Some of the most decisive moments in the following four decades of communist rule in Czechoslovakia were the events of the year 1968 when a post-Stalinist 'thawing' of governmental control heralded a brief period of liberalisation that started with the election of Alexander Dubček as the First Secretary of the Communist Party. The following months, affectionately called the *Prague Spring*, brought unprecedented freedoms and the lessening of totalitarian restrictions that hoped to change the country's establishment into 'socialism with a human face'. These efforts were terminated on 21 August of the same year, when Czechoslovakia awoke to find the country occupied by tanks from the Warsaw Pact, as a clear signal from the Soviet Union to cease all attempts at liberalisation. The following period that became known as the *normalisation era* brought renewed censorial control, purges of politically 'unsuitable' individuals from public life and further repercussions aimed to strengthen Soviet control over daily life in Czechoslovakia.

The communist regime ended in 1989 through a process known as the *Velvet Revolution*, a non-violent government transition from communism to democracy. A series of largely student-based demonstrations that started in November 1989 culminated with the resignation of the Communist party leadership, and the first democratic elections followed in June 1990. Since this date, Czechoslovakia embarked on a journey of democratisation with a clear pro-Western direction, and both countries

[6] With the exception of a small area of Subcarpathian Ruthenia that was incorporated to the newly established Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

joined the European Union on 1 May 2004. On 1 January 1993, the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic peacefully dissolved into two sovereign countries, the Czech Republic and Slovakia. Despite the separation, both countries remained politically and culturally close, and the feeling of brotherhood between them is still palpable.

While the spatial limitations of this thesis did not allow me to go into any particular depth in this overview, it is hoped that this will serve as a useful chronological backdrop for the following two sections. These will focus on two of the more detailed strands of Czechoslovakia's history: the living conditions of its non-heterosexual population and the publishing practices before and after the Velvet Revolution.

1.3 NON-HETEROSEXUAL[7] LIFE IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC AND SLOVAKIA

Even though the Velvet Revolution will be celebrating its 30th anniversary in November 2019, academic research exploring the life of the non-heterosexual and non-cisgender[8] population of Czechoslovakia before 1989 are only recently starting to appear. As will be explained in this chapter, the socialist regime used silence as its main approach towards what it perceived as non-normative sexual behaviour, which is why official sources are limited to scattered medical journal entries and police reports. Fortunately, a number of researchers in recent years recognised the importance of oral histories, which play a key role in the explorations of minority groups that were frequently removed or omitted from written historical records. The so far most comprehensive study is the work of three Czech authors, Himl, Seidl and Schindler, named *Miluji tvory svého pohlaví* (I love beings of my own sex, 2013)[9] that traces homosexuality in the history of the Czech lands from premodern times to the present day. Of particular interest is a chapter written by Franz Schindler which includes the

[7] Throughout this thesis, I use a number of different expressions to denote these categories and identities, including non-heterosexual, homosexual, gay/lesbian and queer. Their use is strictly contextual, i.e. when referring to the medical discourse during the socialist period I use the term *homosexual* as it was the common discursive practice. When referring to a non-descript group of people that might have identified with a number of different terms that lie outside the heteronormative, I use the word *non-heterosexual*.

[8] The almost complete lack of data unfortunately does not allow me to further elaborate on the lives of non-cisgender population in Czechoslovakia, however it is hoped that future research will bring more light into this area.

[9] All translations from Czech and Slovak are mine, unless indicated otherwise.

results of 21 interviews conducted with men who identify as homosexual and who spent the great majority of their adult lives during the socialist period. (Schindler et al., 2013:271) This study is further supported by the work of Jiří Fanel, one of the first gay rights activists in Czechoslovakia after the Velvet Revolution, who in his *Gay Historie* (Gay History, 2000) includes informal narratives from his friends and colleagues reminiscing about the previous regime. A Slovak counterpart to these studies is Viera Lorencová's doctoral thesis *Becoming Visible: Queer in Postsocialist Slovakia* (2006). While her focus is the birth of the lesbian and gay movement after the Velvet Revolution, her fieldwork includes nearly fifty interviews with activists that inevitably mention the pre-revolutionary period in their narratives. The most recent addition to this research is Věra Sokolová's study *Duhový život pod rudou hvězdou* (Rainbow life under the red star, 2015), which contains the first results of a series of oral interviews with Czechs who identified their own gender or sexual identity as non-normative during the socialist regime. Sokolová's work partly addresses the gender imbalance of the previous Czech studies that focus largely on men, as her project so far includes nine women and two persons who identify as transgender (p.251). The following overview is largely based on the information gained from these studies and interviews in order to create a somewhat coherent but inevitably limited picture of the type of life non-heterosexual persons led during the socialist years of Czechoslovakia. The latter part describing the situation after the year 1989 is largely based on news sources as well as my own personal recollections, as this was a time period I mostly spent living in Slovakia myself.

1.3.1 THE FIRST CZECHOSLOVAK REPUBLIC

After the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867, both members of the newly established dual monarchy kept parts of their legal system, resulting in a different legislation valid for the Czech lands (part of Austria) and Slovakia (Upper Hungary). The Austrian legal code, based on previous legislation dating back to 1707, defined sodomy as *necudnost contra naturam* [obscenity against nature], which, according to article 129b of penal code established in 1852, could be punished by up to five years in prison. Hungarian law was comparably less strict, and article 241 of its penal code from 1878 was limited to one year in prison. Both of these articles were adopted into

the legal codes of the newly established Czechoslovak Republic after the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1918, resulting in dual legislation within the republic until the Second World War (Lorencová, 2006:10-11).

These laws meant that homosexual acts continued to be illegal in Czechoslovakia and persecution was an ongoing threat, as illustrated by the mass investigation and subsequent imprisonment of homosexual men in the Czech city of Pilsen in 1932 (Schindler et al., 2013:109-175). Despite the legal limitations, the 1920s and 1930s were a period of modernisation and relative open-mindedness that brought about the first grassroots movements campaigning for the decriminalisation of homosexuality. A group of intellectuals started publishing a bi-weekly journal named *Hlas sexuální menšiny* [Voice of the sexual minority], followed in 1932 by *Nový Hlas* [New Voice]. These were part of a larger, Europe-wide movement towards liberalisation, including the decriminalisation and de-medicalisation of homosexuality, that was gaining momentum – particularly in large cities such as Berlin, London and Paris. They were stopped by the rise of fascism and the consequent Second World War that set these attempts back by several decades.

The Nazi persecution of homosexuals [10] impacted upon both the Czech Republic as part of Nazi Germany, and Slovakia as its satellite state. However, as Jiří Fanel (2000:432-433) describes, there was a difference between the treatment of homosexuals of German or 'Aryan' origin and those that did not belong to this group. Homosexuality was perceived as a threat primarily to the 'dominant race' and was therefore not persecuted as intensely in the Czech Republic or Poland as it was in Germany itself. This, of course, did not translate to a period of liberalisation during the war. Little to no information is available at this point about the life of non-heterosexual Slovak population during this time.

[10] Due to the fact that homosexuality remained a taboo subject after WW2, any research on Nazi persecution of this subgroup started only in the 1970s and 1980s, at a point when many sources were inevitably lost. While historians in queer studies are currently attempting to retrospectively cover these blank spaces, it remains one of the least clear and publicly unknown parts of the holocaust.

1.3.2 SOCIALIST CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The post-war period together with the communist coup d'état prompted a thorough change in Czechoslovak legislation. The years 1948 to 1951 were left as a transition period for accommodating any changes from the legal code of the first Czechoslovak Republic, and pre-war activists that survived the war briefly campaigned for a decriminalisation of homosexuality in the new legislation. However, it was ultimately decided that because the USSR considered homosexuality a 'bourgeoisie phenomenon' that had no place in a communist society (Schindler et al., 2013:282), it could not be legalised in Czechoslovakia either. The original Austrian article 129b and Hungarian article 241 were merged into the new Czechoslovak-wide article 241, according to which intercourse with a person of the same sex could be punished by up to one year in prison (Zavacká, 2001).

The next major development in the legislation surrounding same-sex intercourse occurred a decade later and is largely connected with the work of the Czech sexologist Kurt Freund. After a series of unsuccessful attempts to subject men who were sexually attracted to other men to behavioural therapy (in line with the contemporary belief that homosexuality was a behavioural issue), Freund concluded that homosexuality is not curable, and renewed a campaign for its exclusion from the penal code (Schindler et al., 2013:285-286). His work proved fruitful, and a revision of legislation in 1961 brought a new article 244 which effectively decriminalised homosexuality between consenting adults. Intercourse with persons younger than 18 years old as well as relations that caused public offence or that involved any kind of reward (not necessarily financial) remained a criminal offence. This change is particularly striking when compared to similar developments in the United Kingdom, where the Sexual Offences Act that partially decriminalised homosexuality in England and Wales was passed only in 1967, and in Scotland, 1980. While this change appears singularly open-minded for a regime known for its restrictive hold on the society, several of the men interviewed by Schindler mention that the new legislation was not followed by any visible societal shifts, and did not bring any direct change to the life of homosexual men in Czechoslovakia beyond the feeling of relief at the lack of possible legal repercussions (p.291). The freedom from persecution granted by the new legislation too was a relative term, as the Czechoslovak secret service StB/ŠtB

continued to keep a detailed index of homosexual citizens (Schindler, 2013:362,368), and without laws addressing homophobia, police violence targeting gay men (and women, to a lesser extent) was not unusual (Sokolová, 2015:260).

It is clear that in order to create a somewhat rounded picture of the life of non-heterosexuals in socialist Czechoslovakia it is necessary to take into account a number of different factors, and chiefly the information that homosexuality had no place within the ideological aspirations of a socialist country. As Sokolová describes: 'The leading communist party did not support variety and feared all identities that endangered the heteronormative order of the society and challenged the ideological foundation of state socialism.' (2015:244). The way to approach this issue followed the same pattern as towards many other uncomfortable and regime non-compliant phenomena, which was to simply pretend that homosexuality did not exist beyond the medical and sexual sphere. The careful avoidance of all subjects related to non-normative sexualities from public discourse as well as politics and the media created a social taboo that was only removed with the Velvet Revolution of 1989 (Schindler et al., 2013:283,292). The aforementioned medical and sexual discourse remained the one area in which homosexuality could be and indeed was discussed, and Sokolová mentions the crucial role some sexologists played in the frequently difficult road to self-identification of some of her respondents (2015:255). This was despite the fact that the official medical bodies still considered homosexuality to be a sexual deviation that was incurable by modern medicine, as was theorised by Freund in the 1960s (ibid, p.254). It is also important to point out that medical discourse surrounding homosexuality at this stage was ingrained in predictable gendered stereotypes, with frequent claims about the relative effeminacy of homosexual men or the aggressive character of homosexual women, which likewise contributed to the societal expectations regarding non-normative sexualities (ibid, p.258).

This state-imposed silence naturally presented substantial problems for the lives of non-heterosexual citizens of Czechoslovakia. Without any overt representation of same-sex couples in books or television, it was difficult to make sense of non-heteronormative feelings and desires, which is why books like *The Well of Loneliness* (Hall, 1928) mentioned in the following section, with its narrative about a woman who is in love with other women played such a crucial role for many lesbians. The taboo

surrounding homosexuality likewise presented considerable difficulties in finding romantic and/or sexual partners. Both Schindler (2013:314) and Lorencová (2006:104) report that some of their respondents frequented public toilets and parks that were accessible overnight, which was a version of *cruising* that was a frequent phenomenon in many Western countries where homosexuality was not tolerated. In the Czech Republic, these places carried the informal name *holandy*. Despite the difficulties, a clandestine homosexual subculture existed within some parts of Czechoslovakia, particularly in its capital city Prague. Jiří Fanel identifies four types of male social life in the 1970s (2000:446): bars and clubs unofficially frequented by homosexual clients; public baths; 'salons' that operated on the basis of invitations and were centred around intellectual and cultural pursuits like art debates and concerts; and, finally, family gatherings. This last type is the most interesting one as it consisted of small networks of homosexual men who regularly took care of new, young members and offered them a form of surrogate family. Slovakia's capital city Bratislava likewise had its own clubs and establishments that were secretly frequented by men interested in other men. Their meeting place was a fountain in front of the Opera House (known now as the Old Theatre), which features a statue of the youth Ganymede being abducted by Zeus in the form of an eagle, in order to make him his cupbearer and lover (Lorencová, 2006:130). While the larger cities provided some possibilities for non-heterosexual men (less frequently women) to socialise, the situation in rural areas was considerably more difficult under the ever-present taboo on all matters related to homosexuality. However, it is also important to note that this apparent blindness of the regime towards non-normative sexualities sometimes brought unexpected advantages. One of Sokolová's respondents describes a time when she and her female partner lived in a shared household while taking care of the partner's young son. The boy's frequent mentions of another woman that was not a family member arose suspicion within his class, and the two women were asked to visit the school in order to explain who this additional member of the household was. During the interview with the school director, the respondent simply explained that she was a friend who helped to take care of the child, and after ascertaining that the boy was well cared for, the matter was dropped. The respondent reflected on her partner's anxiety in relation to the interview:

> For god's sake, what else could they have said? It was unthinkable that someone would directly ask if we were lesbians. Impossible! I really never feared that question. Who would dare to ask? And how would they ask? (Sokolová, 2015:237)

While possibilities for same-sex couples to live together was not the norm, particularly as housing was to a large degree assigned by the state and almost exclusively to young, married and of course heterosexual couples, this example illustrates the lack of discursive strategies that the regime possessed in order to speak about a taboo subject. If we take into account the fact that homosexuality was limited to articles within sexological journals and strictly associated with sexual intercourse, it is easy to see why the lack of any 'proofs' of such conduct meant that homosexuality itself could not be ascertained. This labelling of homosexuality as a strictly medical issue that only manifested itself as an 'unhealthy' sexual desire, together with a complete lack of representation of same-sex couples in popular media, led to the fact that non-sexual displays of physical and verbal affection between two people of the same sex were almost never seen as manifestations of homosexual desire. This alternative perception that was prevalent in most countries of the former Eastern bloc was noted by the Dutch scholar Gert Hekma, who claims that 'The communist states were largely organized along homosocial lines, always an interesting playground for homosexual desires' (2007:9). These ostentatiously platonic homosocial bonds between two women and in particular between two men were not only tolerated but deliberately promoted by the regime. Sources suggest that a close, loyal and loving friendship between two (male) comrades played an essential role in the state ideology, and, what is most interesting for the purposes of this thesis, these relationships were frequently expressed with words and gestures that are difficult to interpret as 'just' platonic friendships in our post-1989 world. Wojciech Tomasik in his paper *The Motif of Male Friendship in Stalinist Mythology* (2001) documents 'the primacy of high-spirited masculine relations over the traditional, heteroerotic love' (p.67) and its role in communist propaganda. He explains the crucial role of masculine friendships like those between Lenin and Stalin or between Marx and Engels, and how these pairs of men were frequently depicted in imagery suggesting the men's particular closeness and intimacy (ibid.). They also regularly appear overlooking groups of young children, which to

some contemporary onlookers might bring to mind the image of a same-sex couple and their offspring. Propaganda pictures depicting two men holding hands, embracing or overlooking a group of children go well beyond portraits of these leaders, as is the case in a number of posters celebrating friendships between the people of all communist countries as well as military victories. A cover of the magazine *SSSR na Stroike* [USSR in Construction, n.2-3] from 1940 features an illustration from the famous Russian artist El Lissitzky that depicts a male civilian passionately kissing a Soviet soldier in gratitude over liberation. Another display of male solidarity that appears unusual to current Western standards is the socialist fraternal kiss that was a frequent greeting between Soviet officials, perhaps most famously performed by Erich Honecker and Leonid Brezhnev and immortalised on the Berlin Wall. While these depictions and greetings differ in their origins as well as in their reception, and while some of them, like the fraternal kiss, were sometimes privately ridiculed by the citizens of these countries, they nonetheless helped to normalise physical affection between men as well as emphasise the importance of close, intimate male bonds as one of the core elements of society.

While a similar study focusing exclusively on Czechoslovak male relationships is still missing, various indications suggest a similar situation. Lissitzky's propaganda poster is echoed in the famous *Liberation Statue* near Prague's Central Station, likewise depicting a civilian passionately embracing a Soviet soldier. Similar imagery can still be seen around the two countries as some of the last vestiges of the previous regime; the military barracks in Nitra, the Slovak city where I grew up, is to this day decorated with a mural depicting two male soldiers embracing each other. The military themes of loyal comradeships were inevitably reflected in narratives surrounding the cultural and literary life in Czechoslovakia. Close male friendships that were ostentatiously prized over romantic heterosexual ones were depicted countless times in printed and audiovisual media, perhaps best remembered through the highly popular series of Western novels by Karl May and the subsequent series of films that all featured the Native American Winnetou and his 'blood brother', the German Old Shatterhand. Both of the men's romantic interests, Nscho-tschi and Ribanna, respectively, die under tragic circumstances throughout the plot of the novels, but the bond between the two male heroes is unquestioned, unwavering and eternal.

Czechoslovak book production likewise features countless stories of strong, loyal and lasting male friendships, particularly in literature aimed at young adults. These are perhaps best remembered through the adventure stories by Jaroslav Foglar (1937, 1939). While, of course, the motive of intimate male friendships is a common theme in literature worldwide, it is particularly prominent and visible in the socialist structures of the previous regime. Moreover, with the lack of association of platonic same-sex intimacy with homosexuality, these male friendships could use language and gestures that are in the present-day perception more frequently associated with male homosexuality.

1.3.3 VELVET REVOLUTION AND THE POST-COMMUNIST DEVELOPMENTS

While the events of 1989 brought paramount and lasting changes to the lives of the non-heterosexual population in Czechoslovakia, the first signs of a shifting atmosphere started appearing already in the 1980s. As in the countries outside of the Eastern Bloc, it was the spread of the HIV virus and the subsequent global wave of fear that finally allowed the first articles to appear in a leading Czech youth magazine *Mladý Svět* [Young World]. In an article that examines the magazine's rhetoric on the disease from 1983 to 1989, Kateřina Kolářová (2013) describes its changing perception from something that only concerns the depraved capitalist West[11], to an issue that ultimately reaches Czechoslovak borders. Even then, however, the illness was portrayed as a problem of asocial individuals unable to integrate themselves into the society, which was synonymous with homosexuals within the country's discourse (ibid.). Articles in *Mladý Svět* were at last followed by the foundation of the first club for homosexual men led by two prominent sexologists that aimed at raising awareness about the illness in the late 1980s, and which was tolerated due to its officially medical nature (Schindler et al., 2013:298).

The events of the Velvet Revolution and the subsequent regime change that brought freedom of speech and press as well as the opening of the borders created unprecedented possibilities for the previously invisible members of society to find

[11] This work uses the term *West* to denote European countries that used to be on the Western side of the Iron Curtain, together with North America.

their own voice, and Czechoslovak gays and lesbians immediately used this momentum. As Lorencová (2006) describes, the first organisation *Lambda*[12] and its Slovak counterpart *Ganymedes*[13] were founded almost immediately after the political changes in 1990, soon to be followed by regional sub-groups (Lega, HRHO, SOHO etc., p.130). These organisations started to soon form a deliberate movement that had as its aim both the support of the homosexual minority from within through a variety of magazines and clubs, as well as to fill the information void within the public sphere through television, radio broadcasts, public talks and events. Change to the legislation was another important point on the agenda, and the movement succeeded in a revision of act 244 into act 242 of the penal code in 1990 that lowered the age of consent for same-sex partners from 18 to 15, the same as heterosexual partners. The year 1991 put an official stop to the indexing of homosexual individuals, and, in 1993, the National Associations of Czech and Slovak physicians removed homosexuality from its list of diagnoses. While these small victories for the movement meant paramount changes for the lives of the non-heterosexual population within both countries, as they suddenly had legal and dignified ways to meet partners and socialise, it is necessary to remember that the public consciousness was, and in many cases still is, slow to accept the existence of non-normative sexualities. The separation of Czechoslovakia into the Czech Republic and Slovakia in 1993 further revealed stark differences in public opinion of the citizens in these two countries.

Gay rights organisations in the Czech Republic started campaigning for further rights for same-sex couples in the early 1990s, and the first attempt to pass a law permitting civil partnerships through parliament occurred in 1998. The attempt was unsuccessful, but, as it failed by only two votes, it clearly signalised a positive movement in the public consciousness. Further failed attempts in 1999, 2001, 2004 and 2005 did not mitigate the determination of the activists, and the Czech parliament finally passed the bill on 15 March 2006 with article 115. Since this date, Czech same-sex couples have similar legal rights to married heterosexual couples, although still without the possibility to adopt children. At the time of writing this thesis, there are further attempts to introduce revisions of existing legislation that would allow same-

[12] After the Greek character λ used internationally as a symbol for gay and lesbian rights since the 1970s.
[13] As a conscious nod to the aforementioned Ganymede fountain in Bratislava.

sex couples to both adopt a child together or adopt a partner's child. While some degree of homophobia is still present within the Czech Republic, particularly in rural regions and amongst the older population, the country is regularly included in lists of the most LGBTQ+-friendly places within Europe[14] and leads the tolerance scale within the former Eastern Bloc. This development is primarily ascribed to the fact that the Czech Republic was traditionally a Protestant territory and is currently one of the least religious countries in Europe.

Predominantly Roman Catholic Slovakia experienced a very different development in its fight for LGBTQ+ rights, despite the fact that the two countries were joined for almost a century. While Slovak LGBTQ+ groups have fought with equal enthusiasm for the inclusion of registered partnerships into Slovak legislation, not a single one of these attempts has reached a parliamentary voting at the time of writing this thesis. One of the smaller victories was the passing of the so-called Anti-Discrimination Act in May 2004 (article 365), which made it illegal to discriminate against a person based on their sexual orientation. While this law was presented as one of the requirements for joining the EU at the time of Slovakia's candidacy, its inclusion was preceded by fierce opposition particularly from the side of Slovakia's right-wing party Christian Democratic Movement (*Kresťansko-demokratické hnutie*, KDH), and the law passed only upon strong pressure from the EU itself.

While Slovak LGBTQ+ groups continue to campaign for more rights and recognition for non-normative sexualities and identities, the movement experienced in recent years a period of regression similar to setbacks in other countries from the former Eastern bloc (e.g. the Croatian constitutional referendum in 2013 that had similar aims). In 2014, the Slovak National Council made an amendment to the Slovak constitution explicitly defining marriage as a bond between one man and one woman, effectively preventing any same-sex marriage laws to be passed in parliament until further constitutional changes. In the following year, the organisation *Aliancia za rodinu* [Alliance for Family] gathered the necessary 40,000 signatures to stage a nation-wide referendum, which asked whether the respondents think that marriage should be only a bond between a man and a woman, amongst other questions. The

[14] According to a study published by Pew Research Center in 2014, 80% of Czechs answered the question 'Should society accept homosexuality?' with a yes. (Pew Research Center, 2014)

official aim of the referendum was to protect the institution of family as the core unit of society, and the Alliance was supported by the Conference of Slovak Bishops, with churches all over the country becoming campaigning grounds. As, according to Slovak legislation, a referendum needs a turnout of 50% to be considered valid, the opposition led by *Iniciatíva Inakosť* (Initiative Otherness, formerly *Ganymedes*) urged people not to vote, relying on Slovakia's notoriously low election turnout. This strategy proved successful and with only 21.4% of the population voting, the referendum was proclaimed invalid. It is difficult to call this result a victory for those campaigning for same-sex rights, as the referendum palpably slowed further attempts to change the current status quo. In the most recent years, the rise of the far-right, represented in Slovakia by the party *Naše Slovensko* [Our Slovakia], presents further obstacles on the road to a more equal, accepting society. Despite these setbacks, the continued organisation of Slovakia's largest LGBTQ+ march *Dúhový PRIDE Bratislava* [Rainbow PRIDE Bratislava] after its cancellation in 2015 as well as the recent return of lobbying for small legislative changes in parliamentary discussions leave hope for further positive developments in the future.

While the Czech Republic and Slovakia seem to have gone separate ways in their approach to same-sex rights, the events of the Velvet Revolution are still seen as a pivotal point for the lives of the non-heterosexual population in both countries. The reclaimed voices and sudden visibility of citizens whose feelings and life experiences do not fit into a heteronormative mould mean that their presence cannot be ignored or silenced anymore.

1.3.4 SECTION REVIEW

As with every research into the 'daily life' of a whole group of people with individual experiences and perceptions, this overview of life for the non-heterosexual population of the Czech Republic and Slovakia necessarily includes generalisations and is limited in its scope. The main focus was to illustrate some of the changes in the way *homosexuality* as a concept, and same-sex affection and desire particularly among men, were perceived in the Czech Republic and Slovakia in the past century. This brief overview aimed to underline a few basic points; firstly, while homosexuality was decriminalised in 1961, the socialist regime continued to view it as an unwanted

element within its ideological structures, resulting in a silence on all matters related to homosexuality within the public discourse, political debates and media. The only exception was the medical sphere - where homosexuality could be discussed, but strictly under the presumption that it was a sexual deviation. While these circumstances made the lives of the non-heterosexual population considerably difficult, it created some areas of relative freedom and rare possibilities to form relationships or whole secret subcultures in larger cities. The strong emphasis on the sexual and medical side of homosexuality coexisted with regime-approved homosocial bonds between both men and women, that were in turn frequently promoted in the form of propaganda images as well as popular narratives in literature and media. After the opening of the borders and Czechoslovakia's turn towards capitalism and democracy in 1989, the information vacuum, as well as the taboo surrounding non-normative sexualities, collapsed as the first gay and lesbian organisations in both countries sought to gain their lost visibility on all levels of the society. After 1993, the countries went separate ways, and while the Czech Republic legalised civil partnerships in 2006, a similar development still seems unattainable in Slovakia a decade later. Despite this different speed of relative advancement, non-normative sexualities remain visible in a variety of ways including media imported from anglophone countries, and in the form of Pride marches, organised yearly in both countries.

1.4 CENSORSHIP IN TOTALITARIAN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The fourth part of the chapter providing a historical background to this thesis will offer an overview of the publishing policies and procedures present in former socialist Czechoslovakia, briefly compared with the situation after the Velvet Revolution. As with the history of the non-heterosexual population living under the previous regime, studies about the exact workings of socialist book production and particularly about the censorship present in these processes are only now starting to appear. The sole study published to this date that directly concerns the subject of translation in socialist Czechoslovakia is the work of the Czech academic Jaroslav Špirk (2008). Despite its relative briefness, it identifies some vital trends in pre-revolutionary publishing policies, provides an overview of translations into some of

the major language groups, and considers the regime's effects on the work of the two great names of Czechoslovak translation theory, Jiří Levý and Anton Popovič. Špirk's study shows compelling similarities with publishing practices in other countries of the former eastern bloc (Baer, 2011b, 2011a; Gallagher, 2009; Monticelli & Lange, 2014; Thomson-Wohlgemuth, 2007), which will be also used to complement the existing information. Lastly, this chapter draws on a series of interviews with prominent translators and editors from the socialist period conducted and collected by Stanislav Rubáš (2012), which offer invaluable personal experiences about the practices and regulations of the publishing industry.

1.4.1 CZECHOSLOVAK PUBLISHING INDUSTRY

In order to understand the publishing processes in socialist Czechoslovakia, it is important to first describe the political and ideological regulations that were directly forming and influencing the book industry. The key supporting structures of the socialist economic system that pertained to the production of books were collectivisation and the related dissolution of private property. The latter derived from the belief that personal ownership was a fundamentally capitalist phenomenon that supported production for purely commercial reasons, and resulted in large-scale reforms across all areas of agriculture and industry. This directly affected book publishing as here, too, the ownership changed from private to state-owned, resulting in the disappearance of private publishing houses, and the government's complete monopoly over the book production (Thomson-Wohlgemuth, 2007:98). The second factor, the process of collectivisation, aimed to distribute the wealth of the country between the budgets across industries in order to achieve equality between them (ibid.), which meant that the publishing industry too had to work within the financial limitations it was assigned in the planning process. This state-approved budget was directly reflected in limitations on all required elements of the book industry, including a cap on the amount of paper that could be used within individual publishing houses in a given fiscal period (Jarmila Fialová in Rubáš, 2012:80). Both of these strategies resulted in the fact that the government had at least a theoretical control over all

literature available to Czechoslovak readers [15]. This was particularly true for translations that were imported from outside the realm of Soviet influence, and where the first step in the selection process depended on the acquisition of foreign currency with which these books could be purchased (Baer, 2011b:27). Once these books were acquired, they were allocated to individual publishing houses, often depending on their genre or suitability for specific literary series that were a popular feature of the publishing industry. Books then had to be examined for suitability, often by an external state-approved reviewer (Eva Kondrysová in Rubáš, 2012:196). Once approved, the book was assigned to a translator, usually working on what we would now call a freelance contract, i.e. not an in-house employee. The finished book was first read and revised by the editor responsible for the corresponding language group, a process that in some major publishing houses involved comparing the source text and target text sentence after sentence, followed by a detailed discussion with the translator about individual linguistic choices (Jarmila Fialová in Rubáš, 2012:79). Lastly, all publishing plans had to be defended by the editor-in-chief personally in front of a party-approved committee at the Ministry of Culture (ibid.). Eva Kondrysová remembers these committees:

> They were people who had no fondness for literature and who saw books as a burden. On top of that, they saw in them a potential dynamite for future trouble, and they would have been happiest if no books had been published at all. (Rubáš, 2012:197)

Another important factor in establishing a picture of publishing practices in socialist Czechoslovakia are the socio-political changes that the country underwent during these four decades. One of the most dramatic breaking points in the history of the country was the period of Prague Spring and the following occupation of Czechoslovakia by Warsaw Pact troops in August 1968, mentioned earlier in this chapter. The normalisation era following this invasion brought immediate tightening of Soviet control when 'the ideological principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist

[15] This excludes the process of printing, copying and sharing of forbidden or restricted literature known in the former Eastern bloc as *samizdat*, and that was a significant albeit illegal part of the reading material available to some Czechoslovak readers.

realism pervaded cultural and intellectual life. The entire education system was submitted to state control.' (Špirk, 2008:216). These changes had direct and immediate consequences on the publishing industry and the production of foreign books, as new purges of individuals who did not sufficiently comply with the ideological requirements of the regime included some of the most prolific professional translators (Rubáš, 2012:78,337). The fact that they were now 'blacklisted' by the regime meant that their names could no longer appear anywhere in print, effectively preventing them from translating. While these limitations were frequently avoided by using different names for works from these blacklisted translators (ibid., p.78,341,351) these political changes, together with the overall strengthening of ideological restrictions in all parts of the society, had clear negative effects on the relative freedom of the publishing process.

Despite this rather bleak picture of communist publishing practices, it is also important to stress some of the positive sides of the book industry. Several of the translators interviewed by Rubáš mention the regular and relatively high pay they received for their work, as well as the meticulous care with which each volume was prepared (2012:50,79). This was made possible through the relative lack of commercial pressures present in many publishing houses today. Others stress the intellectual importance of foreign books for citizens living in a country with closed borders and limited opportunities to travel abroad, and the corresponding demand and enthusiasm for those few books that were published. As Vladimír Mikeš writes, 'Underneath the official socialist realism was the underground and a huge desire for living words. People read a lot, would stand in queues for books.' (Rubáš, 2012:256). It is also important to note that the publishing process did not operate on a simple binary where the 'good' publishers and translators worked under and often against the 'evil' party-approved censors; the picture was in reality far more complex. Many party members used their political influence in order to help those who found themselves blacklisted or otherwise with limited opportunities, and even those whose job description it was to exercise strict censorial control over the books and its contributors were known sometimes to help in the joined effort to create high-quality literature that the public wanted to read. Eva Kondrýsová remembers an instance when an editor-in-chief returned her dispatch note for a translation ascribed to a false translator who

covered for a blacklisted colleague. The note read ‘management error’, suggesting that the names did not agree as they should, giving the editor a chance to adjust her mistake instead of bringing it to the attention of higher authorities (Rubáš, 2000:204).

The first part of this section focused on the external restriction on book production correlated with the socio-political changes in the second half of the 20th century Czechoslovakia. The second part will turn towards the impact the state ideology had on actual textual production, and on the types of censorship most typically present during this period and then discuss their possible impact on the corpus of this thesis.

1.4.2 CENSORSHIP IN SOCIALIST CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The reason why book production was such a tightly controlled and restricted area within socialist Czechoslovakia was the fact that books were seen as one of the most crucial idea-forming tools in the restructuring of the society. Socialism, as the official state ideology in countries of the former Eastern bloc, was seen as a transitory period, in which the population could evolve from the original capitalist thinking towards the final stage of the process, a communist society. Literature, together with education, were unsurprisingly seen as key components in this large-scale change, and it was essential to ensure that books that were made available to the socialist reader complied with this state ideology. The aim of the external control mechanisms described above were therefore, at least in theory, to assure that all literature produced during this period fulfilled this purpose, and one of the ways in which this was achieved was direct textual censorship of the published material. Censorship in this context is used in the wide definition of Francesca Billiani, where it represents ‘a form of manipulative rewriting of discourses by one agent or structure over another agent or structure, aiming at filtering the stream of information from one source to another’ (2007:3). This type of manipulative rewriting as part of a state ideology that has the ostentatious aim of protecting its people from whatever is considered dangerous or unsuitable for them is a frequent element of totalitarian regimes, many of which were present in Europe throughout the 20th century. However, while some elements of censorship, like the open criticism of said regime or its political representatives, were present across all of these systems, the individual structures required different changes

and restrictions to their respective literary productions, depending on their ideological formations. While, for example, Mussolini's censorship in fascist Italy targeted Jewish, Francophone or Masonic authors and books with clear anti-war themes (Fabre, 2007), Spanish publishing under Franco's dictatorship removed elements that questioned the leading position of the Catholic Church or represented sexual behaviour outside of the patriarchal, marital and heterosexual norm (Linder, 2004; Merino-Álvarez, 2016). The censorship that was most prevalent in the socialist years of Czechoslovakia is summed up by Josef Čermák, a prolific translator from French and German and formerly editor-in-chief in Czechoslovakia's largest publishing house SNKLHU:

> In fiction, everything that was an overt criticism of Marxism and Communism, of the socialist camp or of the politics therewith, was taboo. The second barrier was represented by a fairly hypocritical requirement to protect our people from the obscenity and vulgarity that were seen as a dangerous infection from the side of bourgeoisie capitalism. (Rubáš, 2012: 34)

If we place Shakespeare's work in general and his sonnets in particular into the context of these two main groups targeted by censorial interventions, it is clear that both of them – criticism of the regime and morally questionable elements – could potentially influence their translation. Let us look at these groups in relation to the sonnets, starting with Čermák's first point. While there are naturally no recorded stances of Shakespeare towards Marxist-Leninist principles, this does not mean that his work could not be subjected to scrutiny and censorship for its criticism of the ruling elite in a more general sense. Shakespeare's works are well known for their political themes and frequently question the authority and righteousness of the establishment. These elements were strong enough to alert the communist censors; Piotr Kuhiwczak mentions the decision of a Soviet Minister of Culture, who 'strictly limited the production of Shakespeare's plays because in her view they were too much concerned with the struggle for power' (2009:53). Aoife Gallagher in her study of Boris Pasternak's 1940 translation of Hamlet into Russian likewise shows the subversive potential of the play in translation, where it functioned as a medium of self-expression for a prolific author who was banned from publishing original work in the 1930s for

political reasons. Hamlet, as a play that famously questions the divine rights of kings and comments on all things rotten in the state of Denmark, was an ideal medium for Pasternak's own criticism of the ruling system in the Soviet Union (Gallagher, 2009). While the sonnets, as a collection of primarily amorous poetry, might not be considered politically subversive material, there are still parts of the collection that caused censorial interventions in this area. Jiří Josek, one of the translators within this corpus, mentions an instance when a contestant was expelled from a poetry contest because of her choice to recite Shakespeare's Sonnet 66 (1997:113). This deeply pessimistic poem consists of a scathing enumeration of all the signs of hypocrisy, corruption, inequality and pretentiousness in the world around the poet, with only the love for the recipient keeping him from committing suicide. Josek further comments that 'communists identified themselves with the corrupt and oppressive regime of Queen Elizabeth and felt threatened by verses which were almost 400 years old', and calls the act of banning this sonnet a 'homage to the Bard' (ibid.).

These examples might raise the question of why Shakespeare's work was translated at all, particularly given the fact that he was an author from beyond the Iron Curtain and firmly positioned within the legacy of the capitalist West. This is easily explained by the status of 'classics' Shakespeare's works possessed. As Baer describes in his study of censorship in the Soviet Union, the aim to make the treasures of world literature available to the working class was one of the key principles of the regime, put into action shortly after the Russian Revolution through the foundation of *The World Literature Publishing House*, commonly known as *Glavlit* (Baer, 2011b:26-27). Modelled after this institution, the Czechoslovak state publishing likewise placed a large emphasis on making the classics available to everybody, frequently as collectable editions printed with attractive covers but sold at very accessible prices. An example of this is one of the reprints of Vladislav's 1955 translation of Shakespeare's sonnets that was published as part of a series called *World reading* [Světová četba] within the largest Czechoslovak publishing house SNKLHU. The sonnets were the 129th volume in this series following an impressively wide range of world as well as Czech and Slovak authors from Goethe to Cervantes, Balzac to Tolstoy, Hašek to Hviezdoslav (Vladislav, 1956, listed at the back of the volume). The price of this volume, which of course was non-negotiable and constant in all bookstores, was 5.86 Czechoslovak

crowns, at a time when a loaf of bread cost 2.60 crowns (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic, 2011), which made it truly accessible to a wide range of buyers. The print run for the book was 13,000 copies, a very high number compared to the typical print runs of poetry collections in present-day publishing houses. However, this needs to be seen in the context of socialist publishing, when the selection of books on offer in bookstores was limited to what the regime deemed useful and/or suitable and was therefore incomparably smaller to current day open market offers. Because or perhaps despite these factors, contemporary sources suggest that Shakespeare's work was enjoyed by many Czechoslovak readers. Rubáš notes that the sonnets alone were so popular that 'practically every reader of poetry was familiar with them' (2012:17). Břetislav Hodek, another one of the translators from this corpus, adds his own anecdote on the subject as he refers to Jan Vladislav's 1955 version of the collection:

> I have heard from an eyewitness that his wonderful translation of Sonnet 66 was in the fifties carved into the door of a single cell in *Pankrác* prison. Say, can you imagine a better proof of Shakespeare's immortality, or of the importance of poetry? (Hodek, 1995:179)

This privileged position of Shakespeare raises the question of why and by whom he was awarded the label of a world classic, under an establishment that was sceptical about Anglo-American productions. Surprisingly, it was Shakespeare's life story that allowed him to be a welcomed part of literature widely available in the countries of the Eastern Bloc. As Baer summarises,

> the Soviet regime often chose to assert interpretive control over translated works, in particular the Western classics […] For example, the Soviet regime sought to claim many of the great authors of the West (Shakespeare, Hugo, Dickens) as champions of the common people, in a crude formulation as prophets of socialism. (2011b:28)

It is not difficult to imagine why Shakespeare, who was born to a glove maker in rural parts of England and who ended up writing immortal plays accessible to all strata of the society could be easily included into such a narrative.

Let us now look at the other element of Shakespeare's sonnets that might have been subjected to censorship which is at the core of this work; the theme of same-sex

love and affection within the poetry collection. As Čermák's quote about the two main areas of censorship in socialist Czechoslovakia suggests, the regime was definitely concerned with questions of moral appropriateness and the protection of the people from the vulgar and obscene. As Kondrysová remembers in an interview with Rubáš (2012:206), even simple mentions of birth control and menstruation in David Lodge's novel *The British Museum Is Falling Down* (1965, Czech translation 1974 by Antonín Přídal) caused considerable issues before the book's final approval for publication. As was discussed in section 1.3.2., homosexuality was largely viewed as a taboo, and, as such, few translators mention it directly in their narratives. However, Jarmila Fialová offers an important clue on the subject when she describes her translation of the novel *Le Repos du Guerrier* from the French author Christiane Rochefort (*Odpočinek válečníka*, Rochefort, 1971). While the novel's main plot concerns a heterosexual relationship, there are instances with overt mentions of same-sex intercourse between two women. In Fialová's words,

> She [Rochefort] talked about lesbians, and not only talked, her characters were like that. So it happened that six pages were indeed discarded. […] In that year 1972 – despite my protests – the director of *Československý Spisovatel* ordered the editor in chief Dr Ruxová to discard them. And she really had to remove the whole part where two women got along better with each other than with their husbands. (Jarmila Fialová in Rubáš, 2012:80)

Fialová's statement clearly confirms that the communist censorship was not prepared to publish overt mentions of same-sex desire in its books, and resorted to the frequent method of omission instead. Another interesting example of literature with clear homoerotic elements under the communist censorship is the novel *The Well of Loneliness* from the English author Radclyffe Hall (1928). The semi-autobiographical story describes the coming of age and later life of a woman who falls in love and lives in intimate relationships with other women. Although it is frequently criticised for its binary depiction of "invert sexuality" influenced chiefly by the teachings of psychoanalysts like Richard von Krafft-Ebing (1886, English translation 1906), as well as for its tragic and hopeless conclusion, its importance as one of the first novels openly speaking about female love and desire for other women cannot be

overestimated. The novel's publication in 1928 was immediately followed by obscenity trials both in the United Kingdom and in the United States as its content was deemed immoral to pornographic, despite a complete lack of explicitly sexual scenes in the text of the book.

The Well of Loneliness was translated into Czech as early as 1931 by Vladimír Vendyš as *Studna Zapomění* and subsequently republished in 1933, 1938 and 1948, suggesting lasting interest in the relatively open-minded interwar period. The reprints stopped with the arrival of the communist period after the Second World War, which is not a surprising fact; unlike Rochefort's novel, the whole plot of *The Well of Loneliness* is dedicated to women loving other women, and the questionable elements could not be removed in the same simple way. The interesting fact is that the novel was again prepared for reprint during the period of Prague Spring in the late 1960s, and Věra Sokolová (2015:266) hypothesises that this could have been an editor's decision to make use of the temporary liberalisation and return this book onto the Czechoslovak market. The events of August 1968 and the subsequent occupation of Czechoslovakia understandably stopped these attempts, but curiously, *The Well of Loneliness* was still published – and then immediately removed from the market, not to appear again until the year 1992. This suggests that even the structured and complicated mechanism of communist censorship did not oversee everything, as the fact that this book was unsuitable for the socialist reader was noticed at a stage when it was too late to prevent its spread. The purchased copies, together with earlier print runs, were to play a paramount role in the life of non-heterosexual women under the communist regime. In a series of interviews conducted by Sokolová (2015), several of her respondents mention that their finding of their own lesbian identity was sparked through their reading of *The Well of Loneliness*, usually borrowed from a particular (female) friend.

The story of *The Well of Loneliness* and its hasty removal from Czechoslovak bookshelves illustrates the regime's fear of offering its readership material with overt mentions of non-normative sexuality and identity. Hall's novel is frequently compared to E.M. Forster's *Maurice*, which, although only published posthumously in 1971, is likewise a coming of age story of a young man who loves other men originally written in the early years of the 20th century. It is worth noting that Czech and Slovak readers

had to wait for a translated version of this book until the year 2005, despite the high status Forster's work usually occupies within the classics of world literature, likewise supporting the overall information embargo on all matters related to homosexuality in this period.

1.4.3 PUBLISHING POLICIES AFTER THE VELVET REVOLUTION

As with the changes for the lives of the non-heterosexual population introduced in the previous section, the events of November 1989 that led to the demise of the Communist party and the first democratic election in Czechoslovakia's post-war history had immediate and lasting effects on the publishing industry in both countries. The two key changes that the Velvet Revolution brought were the shift from totalitarianism to democracy and from socialism to capitalism, and both of these changes fundamentally altered the way books were produced. The new government ensured freedom of speech and freedom of the press, which meant that from 1989, there were, at least in theory, no ideological constraints on the contents of publishing. Capitalism and the consequent possibility for virtually anybody to own a private business led to an unprecedented rise in the number of publishing houses of all sizes and specialisations, which is perhaps best illustrated by the post-socialist translations of the sonnets that are included within this corpus. With the exception of *Lyra Pragensis* that published two translations as part of a series in the early 1990s, all eight versions of the collection were overseen by different publishing houses, including one owned by the translator himself (*Romeo*, owned by Jiří Josek). The opening of the borders and the possibility to travel, to buy foreign currency and to liaise with publishing houses in formerly inaccessible countries of the Western bloc also meant a previously unimaginable broadening of possibilities for translating foreign books, as well as access to research and information that were virtually unknown before 1989. However, as several of the translators interviewed in *Slovo za slovem* mention, this newfound freedom brought its own limitations in the form of the highly competitive world of the free market. Božena Koseková sums up the differences between her editing career under the communist regime and the current day democratic era: 'We had bad political conditions, they have bad economic conditions, and so we're left to

hope that one day a time will come when both political and economic conditions will be good' (Rubáš, 2012:226).

1.4.4 SECTION REVIEW

The fourth part of the historical background chapter offered a brief insight into the structures, regulations and policies present in Czechoslovak publishing, focusing predominantly on the socialist era before the year 1989. The overview shows that the communist government had a strong interest in controlling all book production within the country due to the importance of the written word in the shaping of the citizens' opinions and the subsequent planned change from capitalism through socialism towards communism. This control over the publishing process was ensured through the removal of all private ownership of publishing houses and the monopoly on all book production. These state-owned publishing houses then functioned within a tightly controlled structure that ensured every step of book production adhered to the party-approved guidelines, and included restrictions on material sources (paper limitations) as well as full control over the content of books, through state-imposed control of the production and translation process. As eyewitness accounts show, the textual censorship focused on two main areas: criticism of the state and morally questionable content. Same-sex affection, which is at the core of this work, was never overtly mentioned as one of the taboo subjects of the era, however, several examples from publishing archives show that explicit mentions of homoeroticism were not tolerated, which led to textual omissions or the removal of whole titles from book production. While Shakespeare's sonnets were granted a special place within the communist structures due to the work's status as a literary classic, several examples show that this did not warrant complete immunity from censorial interventions. The situation changed drastically after the Velvet Revolution of 1989 when the freedom of capitalist markets as well as the advent of democracy removed the state-imposed control over publishing. The only constraint on book publishing that, in theory, still exists in the present-day Czech Republic and Slovakia are economic pressures.

1.5 GRAMMATICAL GENDER IN CZECH AND SLOVAK

The last part of this chapter will offer a brief overview of one of the key linguistic features of the Czech and Slovak languages that sets them apart from English and inevitably creates challenges for translators; the question of grammatical gender. Like the majority of fellow Slavic languages as well as other Indo-European ones like German or Greek, Czech and Slovak recognise three grammatical genders: masculine, feminine and neuter. The three genders are assigned to all nouns in these languages, and while some of them can be pre-empted to a certain degree (*father* [otec] is masculine and *mother* [matka] is feminine), the great majority of the gender categories do not follow any logical pattern (*girl* [děvče/dievča] in Czech and Slovak is neuter), nor do these always align between individual languages (*the Sun* is feminine in German [die Sonne] and neuter in Czech and Slovak [slunce/slnko]. Nouns that describe specifically defined human beings have to reflect their gender through a choice between a masculine or a feminine form of these nouns[16]. Therefore, *doktor* (masculine) is a general word for an unspecified medical practitioner, but when referring to one specific doctor, Slovak and Czech both distinguish between the feminine form *doktorka* or the masculine form *doktor*. As fusional languages, both Czech and Slovak use declensions and inflections to reflect the gender of nouns in adjectives, pronouns, numbers and verbs, most commonly through the use of respective suffixes. It also needs to be noted that the third gender, neuter, does not act as a 'gender neutral' element in the same way as the English pronoun 'they' is used to denote a person of unspecified gender. Neuter is commonly associated with inanimate objects, small children or animals, and its use for adult human beings could be considered offensive.

These characteristics of the Czech and Slovak languages stand in a stark contrast with the attributes of the (present-day) English language. While it would be wrong to characterise it as completely devoid of the category of grammatical gender, it plays a significantly smaller role in syntax than in the above-mentioned languages. The most common indication of gender in English is the use of third person pronouns

[16] This gendering of the language unfortunately excludes options for non-binary people and a solution of these problems is one of the key questions in Czech and Slovak trans activism.

she/he and *her/his*, aligning with the same pronouns in Czech and Slovak (*ona/on* and *jej/její/jeho*). Unlike in Czech or Slovak, the great majority of English nouns do not belong to any grammatical gender category and most nouns can be used to denote both a male or a female person. For example, *friend* can denote both a female or a male friend and can be associated with both *she* or *he*, unlike Czech or Slovak where it is necessary to distinguish between (f.) *priateľka/přítelkyně* or (m.) *priateľ/přítel* with the appropriate declinations and inflections used throughout the rest of the text referring to this friend. The exception from this rule is a small number of English nouns that carry an implied gender and can be used as antecedents to only *he* or *she*. These typically express traditional categories of kinship, heterosexual marriage, occupation or social ranks (daughter/son, bride/bridegroom, actress/actor, queen/king), or were traditionally used to distinguish between the sex of farm animals (hen/rooster, ewe/ram). Together with some rarely used linguistic conventions that associate nations and ships with feminine pronouns, these are the only cases when grammatical gender plays a significant role in the English language.

The challenges that these linguistic differences between gendered and ungendered languages present to the translator have been well-documented within the field of translation studies. In an essay that formed one the foundations of the field, Roman Jakobsen mentions among others the confusion of Russian children when faced with a male personification of Death in fairytales translated from German due to the fact that all Slavic languages gender Death as female (1959:237). Grammatical gender naturally becomes one of the focal points once feminism enters translation studies, as described by Sherry Simon in the first comprehensive study on the two subjects (1996). While Jakobson describes the occasional dissonance between the gendering of nouns in various languages, and Simon points to the sometimes highly creative ways with which feminist translators accentuate the sexism inherent in some of the grammatical gendering, Shakespeare's sonnets represent a wholly different set of issues related to gender. As noted by Somacarrera (2018), poetry translation presents a very particular gendered dilemma to the translator working from an ungendered to a gendered language, as the poetic form itself is frequently vague, fragmented and lacking the contextual clues to the background of its protagonists that is typical in prose writing. As in the poetry of Margaret Atwood mentioned by Somacarrera, Shakespeare's

sonnets too are designed as a one-sided proclamation of an unspecified *I* for an equally unspecified *you* or *thou*, or refer to a similarly ungendered *lover, beloved* or *friend*. While these nouns can refer to either a male or a female recipient in English, their Czech and Slovak versions inevitably 'reveal' the gender of said persons, as they have a masculine and feminine form. As a result, all Czech and Slovak translators of the sonnets are faced with one of two options on how to deal with these linguistic differences. The first option is to assign a gender to those poems that are originally gender-ambiguous, further choosing between a male or a female recipient through the use of masculine or feminine declinations, inflections and nouns. The second option is to try and conceal the gender of the poems' recipient, which however can only be achieved through a considerable rewriting of the original sonnets. Both of these approaches can point towards possible motivations and agendas of the translators as will be demonstrated in the quantitative as well as qualitative parts of the corpus analysis.

The closing part of this chapter focused on the marked differences between the use of grammatical gender in the source language English, and the two target languages, Czech and Slovak. As described, the intrinsic presence of three genders in Slavic languages and the almost complete lack of grammatical gender in English presents a series of challenges for the linguistic transfer between these languages, and is well-documented within the field of translation studies. It will be these differences, together with other textual, contextual and paratextual changes between the source and target texts that will create the main focus for the analysis in chapters four to eight, and that will be then evaluated at the backdrop of the theoretical framework introduced in the following chapter.

2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

As described in the introduction of this thesis, the key aim of this project is to introduce the question of the shifting perception of (male) same-sex affection and desire that is one of the main issues within queer theory into the field of translation studies. The second chapter will provide an overview of this theoretical framework in a chronological order as the individual strands of the scholarship emerged from literary criticism and were later incorporated into queer theory itself upon its birth in the 1990s. Starting with the poststructuralist thinker Michel Foucault and his work *The History of Sexuality* (1978), the chapter will continue through two of the founders of queer theory, Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick and Judith Butler, to David Halperin whose research focused to a great degree on the question of how to conduct historical research connected with sexuality. The section related to queer theory concludes with the newest development in the area with scholarship on queer temporality that questions linear and teleological perceptions of history and brings fresh angles into the study of sexuality. Lastly, the chapter will provide a link between queer theory and translation studies through an overview of the relevant scholarship related to queer censorship and manipulation and the challenges associated with translations of poetry.

2.1 QUEER

While widely used in academic discourse, *queer* remains a controversial concept and requires a short overview of its origins before commencing with an introduction of queer theory. The adjective *queer* has been in use in the English language since the 16th century, and its original meaning was synonymous with *strange*, *peculiar* or *eccentric* (Online Etymology Dictionary, 2001). The second derogatory meaning of *homosexual*, used predominantly for gay men, was first recorded in 1922 (ibid.) and corresponds with the rise of homophobia in the early 20th century. The word was in turn reclaimed in the 1980s by the very groups it was supposed to insult with the aim to desensitise and ultimately abolish its harmful pejorative meaning. The early 1990s was a period of rapid changes within the lesbian and gay communities, fuelled by the AIDS crisis in the 1980s that brought renewed calls for further visibility and dramatically changed the course of the movement. The

new development brought about questions about the limitations of the formerly used *lesbian and gay* label that excluded bisexual and transgender people, as well as a number of other identities that did not fit the description. It also ignored questions of race, ethnicity, age, class and other factors that inevitably influence the experiences of individual members of the community. The word *queer*, with its fluctuating and non-restrictive meaning, filled this vacuum in the English-speaking world, and soon surpassed its original, purely subversive meaning. Since the 1990s, *queer* has become an umbrella term that covers all non-heterosexual and non-cisgender identities and orientations, allowing for a more intersectional, inclusive space and a broader variety of sexual and gender experiences.

It is necessary to note that the term remains problematic and many members of the community do not consider it a part of their identity, particularly the older generation that primarily recalls its negative connotations. Despite this, queer has become one of the most popular terms in modern gender and sexuality discourse and has reached wide public consciousness as well as academic language. The universal appeal of the word can be illustrated through its spread beyond the borders of the anglophone world, as demonstrated through the word's transcription *kvír* (or *kvéčko*, the phonetic pronunciation of the letter *Q*), that is lately becoming popular within the Slovak and Czech LGBTQ+ communities (Lorencová, 2006:337).

2.2 QUEER THEORY IN SEARCH OF THE HISTORY OF SEXUALITY

Queer theory emerges as an academic movement together with the aforementioned changes in lesbian and gay studies in the post-AIDS crisis of the early 1990s. Building on feminist and gender studies together with poststructuralism within literary theory, the main objective of queer theory is to look for structures and concepts that create our understanding of gender and sexuality, in literature and within the wider cultural and socio-political scope. One of the key questions queer theory asks is how to describe, categorise and understand concepts of gender and sexuality throughout human history, and how these are linked with changing social, political and cultural landscapes. It is this element of queer theory that will constitute the main theoretical framework of this thesis, and the following introduction to queer theory will focus on the development of concepts in this particular area.

As several scholars have pointed out (Jagose, 2002; Traub, 2002), the history of female homosexuality cannot be executed within the same framework as the history of male homosexuality, due to the fundamentally different ways male and female same-sex desire was understood and treated throughout history. As this work is focused on male homosexuality, the following overview will be primarily concerning same-sex desire and affection between men.

2.3 POSTSTRUCTURALISM, MICHEL FOUCAULT AND *THE HISTORY OF SEXUALITY*

The origins of queer theory are anchored in new philosophical lines of thinking that started appearing in Western Europe in the years following the Second World War, and that brought with them novel ways of reading literary texts. Out of these new strands of literary criticism, queer theory builds primarily on *poststructuralism*, which developed in France in the 1960s and is represented chiefly by the works of Roland Barthes and Jacques Derrida. While the scope and focus of this work does not allow for an in-depth analysis, in highly simplified terms, poststructuralism builds on a structuralist presumption that language forms, rather than reflects, the world we live in. Poststructuralism further develops this point and presents a theory that there are no constant entities, as everything within the universe is relative to our perception – including literature, culture and social structures (Barry, 1995:61).

The person who brought poststructuralist ideas into the understanding of human sexuality, and who is widely considered to be the originator of queer theory, is the French philosopher, historian and literary critic Michel Foucault. Foucault's work touches a broad variety of subjects and centres around the emergence of ideas throughout history, as well as the role of power and knowledge in the building of modern societies. Amongst his most significant works are his theories on the emergence of modern medicine (*The Birth of the Clinic*, 1963) the history and genealogy of concepts within humanities (*Order of Things*, 1966; *Archaeology of Knowledge, 1969)*, and his research on prisons as penal institutions (*Discipline and Punish*, 1975). The work where he explores the complex relations between power, knowledge and sexuality and how they influence our modern understanding of sex is his series of studies named *The History of Sexuality* (1976–1984).

Despite the fact that the series is unfinished, as the originally planned six volumes were cut short at number four by Foucault's death in 1984, *The History of Sexuality* is to this day one of the most influential works on human sexuality, and the majority of key studies within queer theory directly draw on Foucault's ideas. Of particular interest is the first volume of the series, *The Will to Knowledge* (*La volonté de savoir* 1976, English version 1978), where Foucault suggests an alternative periodisation of human sexuality.

Applying a poststructuralist framework, Foucault explores how our seemingly axiomatic understanding of concepts like sex and sexuality were created through specific socio-historical changes. He begins with the criticism of the so-called repressive hypothesis, that constructs an oversimplified account of how humankind approached its own sexuality (Chapter 1 *We "Other Victorians"*). According to this hypothesis, the birth of capitalism in the late 17th century necessitated a more focused utilisation of work force, rendering sexual acts for pleasure redundant and undesirable. This was translated into the change from a supposedly open attitude towards sex present through the Middle Ages and Renaissance into an increasingly tabooed society where the only correct type of intercourse was heterosexual, procreative and strictly private. This tendency culminated in the notoriously repressive Victorian society in the second half of the 19th century, and the ban on all things sexual was supposedly lifted only in the 20th century as a part of the sexual liberation movement. Foucault challenges the assumption that the gradual prohibition of discussions relating to sexual matters throughout this period translated into a repressed, sexless society, and instead suggests that it, on the contrary, resulted in an unprecedented interest in a range of different sexual variations. The more restricted the mores of correct sexual conduct became, the more it was necessary to define, categorise and describe all non-procreative sexualities, 'speaking of [sex] *ad infinitum*, while exploiting *it* as the secret' (p.35, emphasis in original). Out of these new categories, Foucault identifies four models that influenced the sex-power-knowledge relationship from the late 18th century into the early 19th century; female sexual pleasure, the sexuality of children, procreative capacities of heterosexual couples, and lastly, 'perverted pleasures' (p.105). The last category is for Foucault chiefly represented by the male homosexual, and is thus is of particular interest for this study.

According to Foucault, male same-sex intercourse was, prior to the 19th century, classified as an *act* of transgression, which could be punished in various ways depending on the momentary judicial code but was essentially perceived in the same way as other crimes like theft or murder. This meant that any man could theoretically commit this crime, and the sexual act itself was in no capacity an inborn part of the person's character. This situation changed in the 19th century when the aforementioned taboo on all non-procreative sexual activities necessitated a deeper enquiry into what same-sex desire actually was. In Foucault's frequently quoted words,

> homosexual became a personage, a past, a case history, and a childhood, in addition to being a type of life, a life form, and a morphology, with an indiscreet anatomy and possibly a mysterious physiology. Nothing that went into his total composition was unaffected by his sexuality. […] The sodomite had been a temporary aberration; the homosexual was now a species. (p.43)

Foucault links this change directly with the rise of medical science and particularly psychology and psychiatry in the second half of the 19th century. He goes so far as to identify the precise moment when male homosexuality was born, citing the German psychiatrist Carl Westphal and his paper *Contrary Sexual Feeling* (Die conträre Sexualempfindung, 1869) as the starting point. Foucault further claims that these changes were underpinned by the dynamics of power structures and indirectly manipulated by a shifting discourse, with a particular significance of what is being unsaid; 'silence and secrecy are a shelter for power, anchoring its prohibitions; but they also loosen its holds and provide for relatively obscure areas of tolerance' (Foucault, 1978:101). These shifting discursive strategies allowed for a surprising tolerance towards outwardly platonic male same-sex affection, which existed as something unconnected to the legislative that severely punished the act of sodomy prior to the 19th century. The situation changed with the medical 'discovery' of homosexuality, which generated not only a wide array of academic and non-academic studies but also allowed persons who engaged in same-sex activities to find their own voice. The homosexual 'began to speak in its own behalf, to demand that its legitimacy or "naturality" be acknowledged, often in the same vocabulary, using the same categories by which it was medically disqualified' (p.101).

While Foucault's scholarship focuses on a Western timeline and primarily on events in British history, it is not difficult to see parallels between his ideas with the development in Czechoslovakia prior to and after the Velvet Revolution. Underpinned by ideological aims, the socialist regime removed almost all mention of non-heterosexual intercourse or relationships from public discourse, creating a highly limited discursive space where homosexuality was viewed almost exclusively as a deviant sexual act. These silences also clearly provided for 'obscure areas of tolerance' identified by Foucault, easily illustrated by the testimony of one of Sokolová's respondents where a school's inability to openly recognise a same-sex couple as 'lesbians' allowed them to live in a shared household without further repercussions (section 1.3.2.). The opening of the borders and the influx of information following the Velvet Revolution strongly resembles the changes identified by Foucault that led to the conceptualisation of homosexuality as an identity. In this case, the concept of homosexuality suddenly extended beyond the medical and the sexual, and became its own identity, accompanied by both a sudden visibility of the non-heterosexual population and the following backlash in the form of societal homophobia.

Foucault's chronologisation of same-sex desire attracted criticism from several scholars, particularly for his use of clear-cut dates with one distinct pivotal point of change in 1869 (Kosofsky Sedgwick, 1990:44) and the related Western-centric influences on his scholarship (Lazreg, 2017). Despite these objections, the impact of his work cannot be understated. Foucault's legacy is primarily in questioning the assumption that sexuality is an inborn biological attribute that our language merely describes and the suggestion that sexuality is instead a human construction, shaped through discourse according to momentary power relations within the society. As David Halperin describes, 'Foucault did for "sexuality" what feminist critics had done for "gender". That is, Foucault detached "sexuality" from the physical and biological sciences […] He divorced "sexuality" from "nature" and interpreted it, instead, as a cultural production' (1990:7). This hypothesis indirectly instigated a significant split in opinions regarding the history and origins of sexuality. The divide is usually characterised as an opposition between *social constructionists*, who support Foucault's notion of sexuality as a product of discourse and upbringing, and *essentialists*, who

maintain the idea that sexuality is an inborn trait. The controversy between the supporters of these two views was particularly strong in the 1990s and is to some degree ongoing to the present day, but it is necessary to point out that these two opinions rarely stand in direct binary opposition, and most historians and scholars stand on a spectrum between these two extremes.

Foucault's work reminds us that any retrospective identification of historical figures with modern categories like homosexuality or heterosexuality is anachronistic. *The History of Sexuality* paved the way for further enquiries into how these concepts were generated, modified and applied throughout history, and became the foundation for the subsequent works mentioned in this theoretical framework.

2.4 EVE KOSOFSKY SEDGWICK AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF HOMOSEXUALITY

The birth of queer theory as an independent discipline is most commonly associated with the names of two American academics, Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick and Judith Butler. During her prolific career, Sedgwick built primarily on Foucault's poststructuralist framework together with feminist scholarship and applied both to her critical readings of English literature. In her first major work, *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire* (1985), Sedgwick introduces sexuality and what is *seen* as sexual as one of the key questions that need to be included in all historical enquiries and literary criticism. Adapting *homosociality*, a term that is used within humanities to describe social bonding between two persons of same-sex and coined in a clear opposition to *homosexuality*, Sedgwick challenges the clear-cut dichotomy between these two concepts by exploring the possibilities of a *desire* within the homosocial, identifying 'the potential unbrokenness of a continuum between homosocial and homosexual' (p.1). Through her analysis of works from English literature, starting from Shakespeare and ending with Dickens, Sedgwick uncovers a variety of changing male relationships that underpin and generate patriarchal structures in the Western world. Building on Foucault's theory of sexuality as a product of power-fuelled discourse, Sedgwick brings the concept further and suggests that:

> Sexuality, like ideology, depends on the mutual redefinition and occlusion of synchronic and diachronic formulations. […] What *counts* as the sexual is […] variable and itself political. The exact, contingent space of indeterminacy – the place of shifting over time – of the mutual boundaries between the political and the sexual is, in fact, the most fertile space of ideological formation. This is true because ideological formation, like sexuality, depends on retroactive change in the naming of labelling of the subject. (p.15, emphasis in original)

As was shown in section 1.1., the controversy about whether the relationship between the author and the male recipient or recipients in Shakespeare's sonnets should be viewed as homosocial or homosexual accompanied the collection from its birth. The possibility that the line between these two categories, as Sedgwick suggests, could be far more blurred than originally expected, throws a new light onto the interpretation of the sonnets. Above all, the idea that the very perception of what counts as sexual or erotic could be influenced by ideological reasons brings new questions about the reading of the sonnets in individual time periods, and particularly so in their translation into different socio-political and cultural realms.

Ideas established in *Between Men* were further developed in Sedgwick's later work *Epistemology of the Closet* (1990), where her body of analysis moves to 20th century literature with a selection of texts from Melville to Proust. Her introduction begins with a challenge to the very idea of a sexual identity, as Sedgwick suggests that:

> It is a rather amazing fact that, of the very many dimensions along which the genital activity of one person can be differentiated from that of another […], precisely one, the gender of object choice, emerged from the turn of the century, and has remained, as the dimension denoted by the now ubiquitous category of "sexual orientation." (p.8)

According to Sedgwick, this preoccupation led, since the beginning of the 20th century, to a pressure to categorise all humans with one of two labels – homosexual or heterosexual (p.2). Supported by legal and medical discourse, sexuality became one of the most privileged entities in the perception of (Western) identity (p.3). This rigid binary construction naturally pervaded the academic world, where gay and lesbian literary criticism was often preoccupied with an 'uncovering' of historical and literary

characters with a homosexual identity. Against this retrospective classification, Sedgwick raises the questions of how homosexuality and heterosexuality were defined, constructed and perceived throughout these varying historical periods, and emphasises the importance of this critical inquiry before making any conclusions about the sexual identity of historical individuals. In her often-quoted words, 'an understanding of virtually any aspect of modern Western culture must be, not merely incomplete, but damaged in its central substance to the degree that it does not incorporate a critical analysis of modern homo/heterosexual definition' (p. 1). One of the key aims of this thesis, as outlined in the Introduction, is to incorporate this enquiry into the field of translation studies, and to test to what degree the perception of what it means to be heterosexual or homosexual influenced the production of translations in the Czech Republic and Slovakia over the course of history.

2.5 JUDITH BUTLER AND GENDER PERFORMATIVITY

While Judith Butler's 1990 book *Gender Trouble* is, as the title suggests, primarily concerned with the questions of gender and not desire, it needs to be mentioned in a condensed form as one of the most important texts in queer theory. In the same way Sedgwick deconstructs sexuality and encourages a deeper analysis of frameworks that create these concepts, Judith Butler uses poststructuralist perspectives to dismantle the notion of gender. Opposing the universal view of 'womanhood' reappearing in feminist discourse which often ignores the width of differences like class, race, ethnicity and other power relations, Butler questions what constitutes our basic understanding of the female gender and where this perception originates. She then suggests that all traits that Western society understands as feminine or masculine are nothing more than artificial constructs that are learnt through the repetition of models indoctrinated within society. This process is what Butler calls *gender performativity*, where the expectation of performing in a certain gendered way generates the performance itself. In Butler's words,

> …the performativity of gender revolves around […] the way in which the anticipation of a gendered essence produces that which it posits as outside itself. Secondly, performativity is not a singular act, but a repetition and a

> ritual, which achieves its effects through its naturalization in the context of a body, understood, in part, as a culturally sustained temporal duration. (1999:xv)

This has clear implications on the notion of sexuality and sexual identity, as without a clear divide between 'male' and 'female', there can be no heterosexual or homosexual desire (p.23). The question of gender, both in the grammatical and the sociological sense, plays a pivotal role in the reading of the sonnets, as the potentially controversial interpretation hinges on the use of gendered markers within the Fair Youth sequence. As will be described in Chapter 3, the great majority of the sonnets within this part of the collection are dedicated to an ungendered recipient, with only a handful of poems hinting at a possibly male object of affection. The sonnets themselves however are generally assumed to be written by and from the point of view of the decidedly male character of William Shakespeare. If, as Butler asserts, 'a masculine identification would, within the presumed heterosexual matrix of desire, produce a desire for a female object' (p.68), the ungendered recipient of the sonnets will be assumed to be female until proven otherwise.

Butler's scholarship is frequently accused of being disengaged from non-academic audiences due to the complex and theoretical language in which she expresses her ideas (Nussbaum, 1999). Sedgwick's deconstruction of sexuality and Butler's dismantling of gender were likewise met with criticism from activists, amongst others, who perceived this line of thinking as counterproductive to the ongoing fight for the rights of the LGBTQ+ community. As the film critic Andy Medhurst points out, 'it is much harder to claim civil rights for a discursive construction' (1991). Despite this, queer theory was and still remains a highly influential form of critical enquiry, and is invaluable in the retrospective analysis of human sexuality throughout history. The following sections will introduce academic enquiries specifically concerned with this part of queer theory.

2.6 DAVID M. HALPERIN AND *THE HISTORY OF MALE HOMOSEXUALITY*

The American scholar and co-founder of *GLQ: A Journal of Gay and Lesbian Studies* David M. Halperin conducts extensive research in the areas of genealogy and the history of sexuality. Like Butler and Sedgwick, his work is anchored in Foucault's poststructuralist thinking; however, in his paper 'Forgetting Foucault: Acts, Identities, and the History of Sexuality' (1998), Halperin cautions against a recent tendency to misread the ideas in Foucault's key text. According to Halperin, *History of Sexuality* is not advocating a timeframe where sexual identities did not exist before the birth of psychoanalysis and the medical categorisation of homosexuality. Instead, he suggests that Foucault's work needs to be seen in a broader context of his works on power relations within human history. As Halperin writes,

> *It is not an empirical claim about the historical existence or nonexistence of sexually deviant individuals*. It is a claim about the internal logic and systematic functioning of two different discursive styles of sexual disqualification and, ultimately, it is a heuristic device for foregrounding what is distinctive about modern techniques of social and sexual regulation. (p.99, emphasis in original)

The pivotal change in the 19th century that turned the homosexual into a species (Foucault, 1978:43) was, according to Halperin, a shift in legal discourse brought about by a different power structure controlling human procreative capacities, and is unrelated to how *individuals* perceived their own identity (Halperin, 1998:99–100). Building on this crucial difference between the way society categorises and identifies same-sex desire and the personal and individual perception of it, Halperin in his paper 'How to do the History of Male Homosexuality' suggests a novel framework for historical enquiries into the subject.

Halperin begins his study with a summary of issues in previous attempts to historicise sexuality that were struggling to find 'some strategy for accommodating the aspects of sexual life that seem to persist through time as well as the dramatic differences between historically documented forms of sexual experience' (p.88). At the core of this struggle is the question of what homosexuality actually is (p.89), and

he finds a possible answer in the following quotation from *Hidden from History: Reclaiming the Gay and Lesbian Past* (Duberman et al., 1989), one of the first and most complex collections of studies related to same-sex desire:

> Same-sex genital sexuality, love and friendship, gender non-conformity, and a certain aesthetic or political perspective are all considered to have some (often ambiguous and always contested) relationship to that complex of attributes we today designate as homosexuality. (p.2)

Based on this description, Halperin proposes a 'modified constructionist approach to the history of sexuality by readily acknowledging the existence of transhistorical continuities but reframing them within a genealogical analysis of (homo)sexuality itself' (2000:90). He suggests that the core issue in a historical continuum for male homosexuality lies in the fact that the term itself is in our current, 21st-century Western perspective an umbrella term for a number of different concepts that had varying connotations and meanings throughout human history and across cultures. Instead of historicising male homosexuality as a homogenous entity, Halperin proposes separate histories of four different 'prehomosexual elements'. These elements are effeminacy, active sodomy or pederasty, passive sodomy or inversion, and male love and friendship. The rest of this section will introduce each of the four categories together with further scholarship available for each of them.

While the term *effeminacy* is commonly stereotyped as one of the outward 'signs' of homosexuality in current Western societies and considered problematic and frequently offensive, men whose outward appearance and behaviour was coded as feminine carried different connotations across history and cultures. In many patriarchal societies, particularly those that laid a strong emphasis on military strength as a symbol of masculinity, effeminacy was a sign of heightened heterosexuality (Halperin, 2000:93). Men who abandoned the honourable all-male companionship of comrades in arms and who instead favoured the pleasures found in the company of women were seen as weak and often described as effeminate. While the majority of examples from literature can be found in ancient Greece (p.94), it can be presumed that a connection between effeminacy and excessive heterosexuality was present in Renaissance England, based on Shakespeare's own work. In *Romeo and Juliet*, Romeo blames his

infatuation with Juliet for his inability to prevent Mercutio's death in the following speech:

> 'O sweet Juliet,
> Thy beauty hath made me effeminate,
> And in my temper soften'd valour's steel.' (Shakespeare, 1958, 3.1:75-77)

Alan Sinfield in his book *The Wilde Century: Effeminacy, Oscar Wilde and the Queer Moment* (1994) dates the change of this perception to the end of the 19th century and connects it in particular with the character of Oscar Wilde. Prior to his trials for gross indecency in 1985, Wilde's dandyism and lack of stereotypically masculine behaviour were seen as peculiar, but his appearance and mannerism alone were not linked to the possibility of him having sexual relations with other men. This, according to Sinfield, changed through the publicity and fame of his trials, where 'the image of the queer cohered at the moment when the leisured, effeminate, aesthetic dandy was discovered in same-sex practices, underwritten by money, with lower-class boys' (p.121). As Wilde became a negative example of a debauched man guilty of same-sex intercourse, so were his quirks gradually perceived as part of his crime.

Halperin's second and third category, *active and passive sodomy*, reflect 'an age-old practice of classifying sexual relations in terms of penetration versus being penetrated, superordinate versus subordinate status, masculinity versus femininity, activity versus passivity—in terms of hierarchy and gender, that is, rather than in terms of sex and sexuality' (Halperin, 2000:96). A widely-known example of this distinction can be found in ancient Greece, where a pattern of sexual relationship between a passive youth and an active man that is superior in age, class and experience was one of the central concepts underpinning the society. Hierarchy was an important aspect in these structures, and the passive, penetrated partner was in a great number of instances not supposed to take any physical pleasure from the sexual act and served largely as an object for the active partner/subject. This led to the act being in many cases 'rewarded' in alternative means, with money, connections, praise or patronage (p. 97). Apart from ancient Greece, Halperin cites further cases of this hierarchical order of same-sex intercourse, including such diverse examples as the civilisation of Minoan Crete and Renaissance Florence (p.97). This passive-active dichotomy reached

Western understanding of sexuality when Victorian psychiatrists and psychologists first attempted to conceptualise same-sex desire between men, before the distinction of homo/heterosexuality was popularised. Richard von Krafft-Ebing's work *Psychologia Sexualis* (1886, English translation 1906) makes a clear distinction between *perversion* and *perversity*, where the former is described as a vice and the latter as a disease. For Krafft-Ebing, a perverted man is one who 'performs *quasi* acts of onanism with persons of his own sex, and, at the same time, feels and prefers himself in an active *rôle* corresponding with his real sex' (p.288, emphasis in original). Perversion, on the other hand, is according to Krafft-Ebing an inborn condition, displayed by a preference for a passive role in same-sex intercourse. He names this condition 'inversion', as he interprets it as a sexual desire that is 'inverted' and aimed at the same sex, instead of the opposite (p.44). A more recent example can be found in a study of Hüseyin Tapınç, who describes the varied aspects of male homosexuality in contemporary Turkey (2003). According to Tapınç, the concept of homosexuality within Turkish society is traditionally based on penetration with a strict division between the inserter and insertee. This leads to a viewpoint where the active partner in a same-sex intercourse is not necessarily perceived as homosexual, as the act can be seen as the satisfying of a 'heterosexual' need to penetrate, only executed on a passive man who is seen as a 'secondary outlet' (p.41). In other words, a man can be so masculine that he dominates/penetrates not only women but weaker/more submissive men as well.

The last pre-homosexual category is *love and friendship between men*, which, according to Halperin, appears in two different forms. The first one, represented by heroic duos like Achilles and Patroclus, Gilgamesh and Enkidu, or Heracles and Iolaus, include a distinctively hierarchical structure with a 'striking pattern of asymmetry' (Halperin, 2000:99) usually manifested as a hero and his less gifted partner who often meets a tragic end. This, Halperin claims, provides a link with the previous categories as the couples were at various points in history interpreted as sexual partners as well as friends or comrades. In the male-dominated world, 'hierarchy itself is hot: it is indissociably bound up with at least the potential for erotic signification. Hence disparities of power between male intimates take on an immediate and inescapable aura of eroticism' (ibid).

The second type of friendship that Halperin describes is in turn based on equality and mutuality and is often accompanied by metaphors describing the two men merging into one. The Bible provides an early example of this phenomenon in the story of David and Jonathan, where 'the soul of Jonathan was knit with the soul of David, and Jonathan loved him as his own soul' (Samuel 1 18:1). Examples of this type of relationship, with two men joined in a bond for life based on equality, can be found in a variety of contexts across history; from medieval knights buried in shared tombs with rites usually reserved for married couples (Bray, 2003), through heroic friendships of Restoration drama (Haggerty, 1999), lifelong devotion forged in Victorian all-boys public schools (Mangan & Walvin, 1987), and the deep bonds created between soldiers in the trenches of the First World War (Lilly, 1993). I add to this list the male comradeship promoted and idolised in countries of the former Eastern bloc, illustrated through countless images of political leaders, war heroes and blood brothers whose bond is stronger than death, danger or their possible heterosexual relationships.

Interestingly, the Fair Youth sequence of Shakespeare's sonnets seems to be a candidate for both of these 'subgenres' of male love and friendship as described by Halperin. In some instances, the author puts himself into the position of complete servitude and dependence on the recipient, as in sonnets 26 (*Lord of my love, to whom in vassalage*, l.1) or 57 (*Being your slave what should I do but tend*, l.1). In others, he references a relationship of mutuality and oneness, as in numbers 36 (*Let me confess that we two must be twain*, | *Although our undivided loves are one*, l.1-2), or 42 (*But here's the joy; my friend and I are one*, l.13). As Halperin suggests, these types of bonds can in one temporal and spatial realm be seen as symptomatic of platonic male love or friendship, while in others as part of the concept of homosexuality. I argue that an inquiry into *how* these relationships were conceptualised in different time periods is a crucial part of historical research within translation studies.

Halperin's work is most commonly criticised for his teleological interpretation of history (Goldberg & Menon, 2005:1613; Menon, 2005:494), that will be further elaborated on in the following section. Digangi (1997) emphasises the importance of historical and political context in the use of Halperin's scheme, as 'concepts like "homosexuality" and "inversion" hazily emerged out of a complex political and ideological matrix. They were and continue to be manipulated and redefined according

to particular agendas' (p.2). Despite these issues, Halperin's scheme is so far the most coherent working framework for historical enquiry into the past of same-sex desire. What is in the perception of one age considered homosexual has different implications and meanings across time and space and can differ between people within the same society. It is the acknowledgement of this variety of viewpoints as opposed to a monolithic search for past 'homosexuality' that I will introduce into historical research within queer translation studies.

2.7 QUEER TEMPORALITY

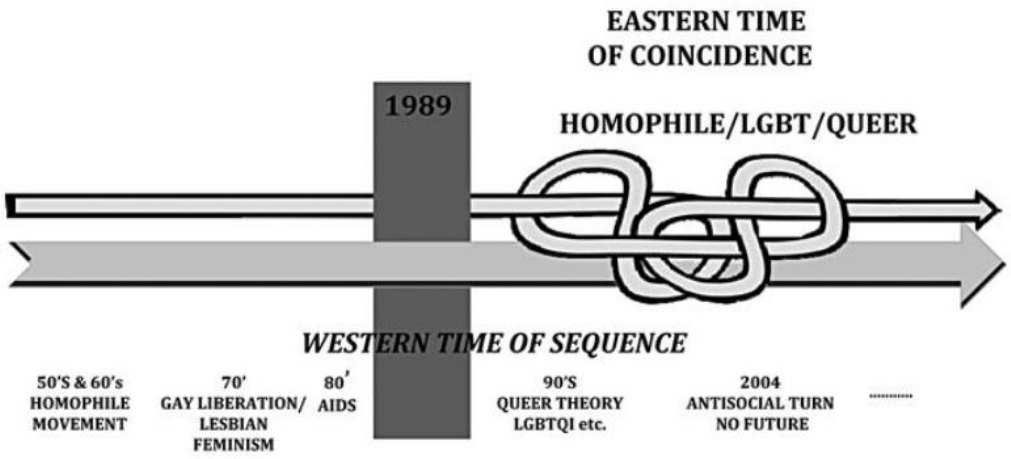
The most recent development in the study of the history of human sexuality was inspired by queer temporality, a concept introduced into queer theory by scholars like Lee Edelman (2004), Elizabeth Freeman (2007) and Jack Halberstam. In his influential book *In a Queer Time and Place: Transgender Bodies, Subcultural Lives* (2005), Halberstam explores the subversive effects 'queer lifestyles' can have on heteronormative expectations of living and the consequent perception of time. From the AIDS threat still lingering in the perception of the community at the beginning of the 21st century that forced many members to live with dramatically shortened life expectations, through the higher suicide rate and murder threat transgender youth is living with, to the fact that many members of the queer community defy the seemingly natural generational life centred around marriage and parenthood, Halberstam suggests an alternative model of time and space that he calls *queer temporality*. In Halberstam's words, 'queer subcultures produce alternative temporalities by allowing their participants to believe that their futures can be imagined according to logics that lie outside of those paradigmatic markers of life experience - namely, birth, marriage, reproduction, and death' (p.2).

The concept of time being a fluid entity that does not follow a predictable curve finds its echo in queer historiography, and was elaborated on by a number of predominantly early modern historians: Carla Freccero (*Premodern Sexualities*, 1995; *Queer/Early/Modern*, 2006), Madhavi Menon (*Spurning Teleology in Venus and Adonis*, 2005; *Period Cramps*, 2009), and Johnathan Goldberg (*The History That Will Be*, 1995; *Queering History* (with Menon), 2005). This new line of thinking questions the teleological principles within queer historiography that see the present as an

inevitable outcome of the past (Traub, 2013:21). A teleological view of history frames enquiries into the past perception of sexual desire as a continuous development where concepts and identities before our time are fluid, uncertain and variable, and develop in a straight line towards fixed, implicit and certain. To apply this view onto the understanding of human sexuality, queer temporality criticises the expectation of 'a developmental curve from the proto-gay to the gay, from the sodomite to the homosexual, in which the latter provides the settled term, transparent in its meaning and identifiable in its physiognomy' (Menon, 2005:492). To view history as a series of inevitable consequences risks simplifications that obscure the fact that human history is always varied, and no two developments, whether in the global sense or in the very specific area of human sexuality, follow the same patterns in different time and space. The example of the mismatched success of the LGBTQ+ campaigns in the Czech Republic and Slovakia, two countries that shared a federation for nearly a century and have close cultural, linguistic and political ties even after their separation, clearly illustrate that these seemingly logical if not teleological advancements are always subject to a whole range of different factors, some of which cannot be pre-empted. This brings the argument back to queer temporality, reflected in historiography as 'a mode of inhabiting time that is attentive to the recursive eddies and back-to-the-future loops that often pass undetected or uncherished beneath the official narrations of the linear sequence that is taken to structure normative life' (Jagose, 2009:158). This line of queer historicism did not remain unquestioned, as exampled in Valerie Traub's 2013 article 'The New Unhistoricism in Queer Studies'. Traub cautions from a complete disassembly of historical chronologisation suggested by some of the historians and urges for a balanced enquiry into past sexualities:

> Resisting unwarranted teleologies while accounting for resonances and change will bring us closer to achieving the difficult and delicate balance of apprehending historical sameness and difference, continuism and alterity, that the past, as past, presents to us. The more we honor this balance, the more complex and circumspect will be our comprehension of the relative incoherence and relative power of past and present conceptual categories, as well as of the dynamic relations among subjectivity, sexuality, and historiography. (Traub, 2013:36)

While mindful of this criticism, queer temporality is an important concept that prevents enquiries into past sexualities from falling into a linear, predictable chronology, and the concepts become remarkably interesting when applied to the timeline and geographical area where this thesis is positioned. As the team of Polish researchers in gender and queer studies Kulpa, Mizielińska and Stasińska argue in their paper '(Un)translatable Queer?, or What Is Lost and Can Be Found in Translation…' (2012), the seemingly straightforward narrative of LGBTQ+ rights in anglophone countries that begins with the Stonewall Riots and leads on a linear path towards milestones like same-sex marriage cannot be simply transplanted onto countries from the former Eastern Bloc. Poland, like former Czechoslovakia and other countries that were part of the sphere of Soviet influence in the second half of the 19th century, underwent tremendous changes once their totalitarian regimes crumbled in the late 1980s and early 1990s. However, while these shifts in many cases brought unprecedented visibility for the non-heterosexual population as described in section 1.3.3., the expectation that these countries can simply 'catch up' on the same straightforward development in a condensed and sped-up form is not correct. Kulpa et.al. also point out the difficulties that the application of modern, Western queer activism presents when transplanted to a different socio-political realm. While scholars like Lee Edelman in his work *No Future: Queer Theory and the Death Drive* (2004) criticise the traditional patterns of human reproduction as a heteronormative construct that should be questioned within queer scholarship, these radical ideas might be difficult to sustain in Poland, a country heavily influenced by the Roman Catholic Church where the institution of family is seen as one of the elemental and sacred cornerstones of the society (Kulpa et al., 2012:135). Slovakia, likewise influenced by religious priorities, is in a very similar position. In an earlier study, Mizielińska and Kulpa illustrate the mismatched timelines in Western and Eastern development with the following diagram:



(Kulpa & Mizielińska, 2011:15)

The image is, of course, simplified in order to point out the differences between the respective developments of the hazily defined 'East' and 'West', while mindful of the fact that 'Western' developments too are far from linear and straightforward. However, while the connection is not made explicit by the authors, this scheme strongly resembles the ideas of queer temporality in historiography mentioned above. The view of history as a series of cyclical and wholly unique developments, and, in particular, such a view of the developments in relation to the understanding and conceptualisation of same-sex desire, will be the final important structure for the analytical part of this thesis.

2.8 QUEER MANIPULATION IN TRANSLATION STUDIES

The final section of the Theoretical framework chapter will provide a link between the scholarship from queer theory described in the previous parts, and the field of translation studies where this doctoral thesis is positioned. As the key aim of this study is to observe how the possibility for a queer reading of the sonnets changes in the collection's translations into Czech and Slovak, this work is primarily located in the area of translation studies that explores censorship and the related ideological influences within the translation process.

First large-scale research on the subject of manipulation of translations coincides with the field's so-called *cultural turn* of the 1990s. During this period, the field of translation studies left its original prescriptive approaches and turned towards descriptive methodologies that aimed to observe how translations are produced, rather than to dictate how they should be made. This coincided with the rise of gender and queer studies as well as postcolonial approaches, leading to a new direction in translation studies that focused on translations as inseparable from their socio-political and cultural background. André Lefevere's seminal work *Translation, Rewriting and the Manipulation of Literary Fame* (1992) introduced the concept of *patronage*, meaning ''the powers (persons, institutions) that can further or hinder the reading, writing, and rewriting of literature' (p.15), where 'translation is the most obviously recognizable type of rewriting' (p.9). Lefevere's acknowledgement of external agents that influence the translation process beyond the traditional constraints of form and content was further developed by Gideon Toury in his *Descriptive Translation Studies… and Beyond* (2012). Toury introduces the concept of *norms* that are present in all literary systems, and that determine both which texts will be translated (preliminary norms) and how they will be translated (operational norms, p.82). These norms ultimately decide 'the type and extent of equivalence actually exhibited by a translation vis-à-vis its source' (p.85).

The ideas formed during the cultural turn in translation studies were further developed by new generations of scholars, and the following thirty years brought a broad variety of studies exploring different forms of censorship. This interest resulted in several extensive works published in the first decade of the 21st century: collections of essays *Translation and Censorship: Patterns of Communication and Interference* (Ní Chuilleanáin, Ó Cuilleanáin, & Parris, 2009) and *Modes of censorship and translation: national contexts and diverse media* (Billiani, 2007), as well as two special issues of the Canadian journal *TTR* (Merkle, 2002, 2010) and a range of independent studies. The editors of one of the themed collections of essays ascribe this heightened interest to several factors; unprecedented transparency in our current multilingual world where modern technology brings the knowledge closer to everyday user than ever before, as well as social, cultural and historical reasons, the fall of several totalitarian regimes within the 20th century included (Ní Chuilleanáin et al., 2009:13-

15). Section 1.4.3. introduced some of the studies that explore the censorship policies in communist regimes of the former Eastern Bloc, including Špirk (2008), Thomson-Wohlgemuth (2007), Kuhiwczak (2009) and Gallagher (2009). This section will further extend this list with research related specifically to the censorship of queer elements within this socio-political realm. As both research related to queer issues and to communist censorship started appearing only in recent years, it is unsurprising that their intersection is limited to only a handful of studies.

The most prolific scholar in the area of queer Soviet translations is doubtlessly Brian James Baer, whose 'Translating queer texts in Soviet Russia - A case study in productive censorship' paints a vivid picture of the restrictive and frequently dangerous life of authors and translators who attempted to write about non-normative sexuality in the Soviet Union. He describes the publication of queer-related material in Soviet Russia in the following way:

> Male homosexuality was criminalized from 1934-1993, and any representation of same-sex desire was subjected to the most severe censorship. It was a time, however, when the invisibility of homosexuality in Soviet society provided, paradoxically, a kind of protection […] …the ignorance of the wider audience and the choice of Soviet officialdom to pretend that homosexuality did not exist in Russia made it relatively easy to screen allusions and coded references to queer sexual practices. (p.25)

This seeming ignorance towards invisible or unwelcome subjects is an interesting phenomenon that will likewise play a role in this thesis, and will be directly connected with some of Foucault's scholarship introduced in section 2.3 of this chapter.

Building on Toury's aforementioned notion of translation norms, Vojko Gorjanc (2012) compares the popularity of different Slovenian translations of Shakespeare's play *The Merchant of Venice* which is well-known for its homoerotic subtext. Gorjanc's research shows how the linguistic norms in Slovenia that favour traditional and older translations of classical texts also codify the heteronormative narratives that are indoctrinated in these translations through subtle acts of censorship. While this thesis uses a similar corpus to Gorjanc's and likewise considers the high status that Shakespeare's work occupies in countries of the former Eastern Bloc, the

analysis will show that a similar preference for older and more traditional translations is not present in the case of Czech and Slovak sonnet translations.

As was described in section 1.3.4., one of the reasons why any research on the workings of communist censorship in the countries of the former Eastern Bloc is difficult to conduct is the lack of written records from this time period. This is particularly highlighted in the work of Zsófia Gombár (2018), whose research compares the publishing policies for books with clear gay themes between Kádár-Regime Hungary and Portuguese Estado Novo. Despite the fact that both of these regimes showed similar signs of authoritarian dictatorship and/or totalitarianism, and both considered homosexuality to be an undesirable element within their respective societies, the amount of textual evidence that would record or explain the actual process of censorship for these works is incomparably different. As Gombár describes, 'Whereas in Portugal, book censorship reports stored at the National Archive of *Torre de Tombo* are freely available to researchers, Hungarian scholars are left only with scraps of information and anecdotal evidence' (p.146, emphasis in original). The reasons for this disparity can be traced to the way the communist regimes handled written evidence in general and goes beyond the scope of this thesis, however it is safe to say that the situation in Czech and Slovak literary archives is similar to that in Hungary. Gombár's cited work is one of the first results of an immense undertaking where she and other Hungarian scholars attempt to piece together these missing information about the country's communist period, and my project likewise aims to help and fill some of the blank spaces in the history of Czechoslovakia's publishing policies towards works with homoerotic undertones.

One last point that needs to be addressed when considering the possible reasons for textual or contextual shifts in the translation of a corpus consisting solely of poems is the question of formal restrictions imposed by the poetic form itself. As described in section 1.1., the sonnet is one of the most formal and strictly codified forms within the traditional poetic repertoire, as it is limited in length (14 lines), metre (iambic pentameter) and rhyme (ABAB CDCD EFEF GG). As will be further described in the analytical part of this thesis, all Czech and Slovak translators decided to adhere to these

sonnet rules[17], despite the fact that the Czech and Slovak languages have a regular stress on the first syllable and are therefore not particularly suitable for the iambic foot. The linguistic differences between these two languages and English mean however that the decision to prioritise the poetic form will inevitably lead to a less 'accurate' translation of the textual content of the poems. As Jones' (2016) comparative study of Bosnian and Serbian poetry into English shows, these inevitable and, in a way, justified contextual shifts can, and frequently become, the space for the translator to insert their own ideologically motivated elements into the poems. The analysis of the fifteen translations of Shakespeare's sonnets will demonstrate how the Czech and Slovak translators negotiated these ambiguities in their individual versions, and how the need to retain at least some of the original content under the strict formal limitations intersects with the questions of gender, sexuality and the possibility for a queer reading.

2.9 CHAPTER REVIEW

The birth and spread of poststructuralism in the second half of the 20th century provoked far-reaching questions into the way in which we understand the world around us and our place within it. If, as the new philosophies suggested, language creates, rather than describes, our lives, could terms such as gender, sexuality or desire be the result of a specific time and place, underpinned by political and ideological pressures, rather than a reflection of an innate and unchanging truth? These questions were subsequently adopted and explored in the new field of queer theory. Several leading scholars in this area attempted to find answers or offer alternative chronologisations of human history based on these ideas. The objective of this chapter was to map some of the most prominent scholarship within this field to create a framework that I introduce into the field of translation studies through their application on a translated corpus in the analytical part of this thesis.

Michel Foucault's ground-breaking work *The History of Sexuality* (1978) first suggests that the perception of non-normative sexualities, including homosexuality, shifts throughout human history. While it is seen solely as a sexually deviant act, it

[17] The exception being the occasional use of a hexameter instead of a pentameter, see Chapter 8 for further details.

remains largely hidden from society's perception; once it becomes subject of intense scientific studies and starts to be conceptualised as a part of a person's identity, the stage opens for both the 'birth' of the homosexual and the subsequent mobilisation of a call for their rights, as well as a backlash of homophobia that pushes against this movement. While Foucault uses the example of Victorian England, the narrative is remarkably similar to the situation in Czechoslovakia before and after the Velvet Revolution. If, as Foucault suggests, homosexuality progressed from a period of silence that sometimes granted it some 'obscure areas of tolerance' (1978:101) and into a visible and vocal part of the society in the space of only a couple of years, it is worth asking whether these changes influenced the way a literary text with undertones of same-sex affection and desire was perceived, read and ultimately translated. Similar questions were asked by Sedgwick, whose own expertise lay in the field of critical theory, and who applied Foucault's poststructuralist thinking to the depiction of male relationships in English literature. The blurred boundaries between the seemingly dichotomous notions of male homosociality and homosexuality that she questions in *Between Men* (1985) can be easily applied to the controversy surrounding the Fair Youth section of Shakespeare's sonnets. Sedgwick suggests that the understanding of these terms is determined by political and ideological shifts within society, and the events of the Velvet Revolution, accompanied by a thorough rearrangement of Czechoslovakia's political and social landscape, could, therefore, have caused similar shifts in the perception of the sonnets. Using a corpus that evenly represents textual production before and after 1989, the analysis will test whether similar changes can be traced in Czech and Slovak sonnet translations. In her later work *Epistemology of the Closet* (1990) Sedgwick emphasises the importance of a critical enquiry into the conceptualisation of homosexuality and heterosexuality in any historical research, and this thesis will assert its importance within the field of translation studies, where it has so far not been represented in any research on a significant scale.

The question of homo/heterosexuality that Sedgwick explores is tightly connected to the conceptualisation of gender, and it is Judith Butler's *Gender Trouble* (1999) that brings poststructuralist thinking into this area. Her claim that what we perceive as *male* or *female* is simply a result of repeated performativity that pre-empts the creation of the gender itself becomes an interesting factor when applied to

Shakespeare's sonnet collection. As the author refers to the young man with masculine pronouns or nouns only on rare occasions, the rest of the poems are left to be interpreted by the reader as being written for a person of any gender (or none). The issue becomes even more interesting once the sonnets are translated into two strongly gendered languages as Czech and Slovak, compelling the translator to choose a gender or omit some parts of the sonnets, as will be explored in the analysis.

With the dismantling of the presumption that humanity conceptualised homosexuality in the same way throughout history arises the question of how to conduct research into the subject and what terms to use for describing same-sex desire and affection prior to the second half of the 20th century. While there are various suggestions and controversies within the field, I have chosen David Halperin's four-step scheme (2000, 2002) as the most useful framework for similar enquiries. Out of Halperin's pre-homosexual elements that, as he claims, are now all integrated into the term homosexual, it will be particularly the category of male love and friendship that will be of interest for the following analysis. Halperin's description of this category and its various manifestations throughout history resonate both with the allusions in the sonnet collection and with the model of male comradeship that was frequently promoted throughout the socialist years of Czechoslovakia. Halperin suggests that the 'present day', or in other words, 21st century Western model of homosexuality encompasses all of these elements, including some of the gestures, acts, vocabulary and outward appearance that were in other times and places considered to be signs of homosocial behaviour and were not obviously linked with (homo)sexuality. Based on this theory, Czechoslovakia again underwent dramatic changes as it attempted to apply those Western models mentioned by Halperin after 1989, which inevitably changed the way male relationships and intimacy were viewed after this date. Through a comparison of the textual analysis of the corpus, I will ask whether this changing perception altered the reading and translation of the sonnets in the Czech Republic and Slovakia.

Lastly, the most recent strand of queer theory that brings new angles for historical research is queer temporality, which questions a teleological approach to the history of sexuality. Arguing against the seemingly logical narrative of historical progress where blurred identities become clear-cut ones and persecution of non-

normative sexualities is slowly replaced by complete equality, queer temporality emphasises the cyclical nature of human history and the unpredictability of progress. Although it would seem logical that after the opening of the borders, the Czech Republic and Slovakia would follow in a condensed form the same advancement in LGBTQ+ rights as the West, history shows that this is not the case, and that there are differences even between these two closely cooperating countries. The last part of my research will question whether translations too can be ordered along a linear, chronological axis from more to less censored as might be the logical expectation, or whether here, too, we can discern the cyclical character of history suggested by queer temporality. The findings from these analyses will be then introduced back into the field of translation studies, where they will contribute to research focusing on manipulation and censorship of translated texts as well as broaden the field of queer translations and publishing policies in the former Eastern bloc.

3 CORPUS OVERVIEW AND METHODOLOGY

Chapters one and two anchored this project within its historical and socio-cultural context and introduced the theoretical framework which will be applied to the following textual analysis. The objective of chapter three is twofold; firstly, it will introduce the corpus for this textual analysis, which consists of fifteen translations of Shakespeare's sonnets. After explaining the choices and limitations of this corpus, the section provides a brief chronological overview of the individual translators who produced these fifteen versions as well as some of the circumstances of their publication. The second part is dedicated to the methodological framework with which this corpus is approached and chiefly provides reasons for the decision to use a combined quantitative and qualitative analysis. The chapter then describes each of these methods as well as their respective suitability in relation to the corpus, addresses some of the limitations to these approaches and finally justifies the order chosen for the fifteen different translations in the analytical chapters.

3.1 CORPUS SELECTION AND LIMITATIONS

As is typical for product-oriented analysis within translation studies, the corpus for this work consists of two primary parts; the source text and target text. This work uses a single source text, the collection of 154 sonnets by William Shakespeare in their original English version, and the reasons for selecting this work for this project were covered and justified in section 1.1. The target texts that will form the corpus for the analysis consists of fifteen translations of the sonnet collection into Czech and Slovak, published between the years 1923 and 2010, and that represent all existing complete and officially published translations of the collection into the two languages. As the key aim of this thesis is to explore the possible correlations between translation strategies and the changing perception of same-sex desire in the present-day Czech Republic and Slovakia, the choice of the material as well as the limits imposed onto this selection were all chosen in order to create a representative, coherent and manageable corpus for such an enquiry.

Before describing the corpus in more detail, it is necessary to address the fact that the selection consists of translations into two different languages. The decision to

include both Czech and Slovak versions of the sonnets was based on a number of reasons. Firstly, both were official languages within Czechoslovakia until the devolution in 1993, making them inseparable from the socio-political circumstances that provide the backdrop to the historical analysis. Secondly, the two languages are closely related to the degree where they are mutually intelligible to most adult speakers, which makes their respective comparison with the English source text throughout the analysis easy to conduct. Lastly, the socio-cultural ties between the two countries continue more than twenty-five years after the devolution of Czechoslovakia, and both languages still play a significant role in the two countries. The Czech and Slovak legislature allows judiciary communication to be conducted in either language, and cultural products from both countries intermingle without the aid of translations in the form of popular media and literature. The corpus consists of twelve translations in the Czech language and three translations in Slovak. This disparity can be ascribed to the relative dominance Czech culture traditionally held within the two countries even after the devolution. Another reason for this imbalance is the aforementioned closeness of the two languages; as Czech translations are fully understandable for the majority of Slovak readers, the demand for additional Slovak translations was naturally lower.

The selection process from amongst the available Czech and Slovak sonnet translations was based on two main criteria: whether the collection included all 154 sonnets from the original collection, and whether it has been officially published. The first of these conditions excludes the frequent incorporation of individual sonnets or sonnet clusters into poetry anthologies or collections of classical literature. While many Czech and Slovak translators, poets and academics translated a number of individual sonnets, these incomplete translations are not suitable for the current project for two reasons. Firstly, the translators' approach to the traditional division of the sonnets into the Fair Youth and Dark Lady sequence is one of the key elements in the analysis, and this division disappears if the sonnet collection is incomplete and the original publishing order is disrupted[18]. Secondly, poetry anthologies tend to focus on a few of the most popular and well-known sonnets, all of which are in their original

[18] A similar approach in English publishing can be seen in John Benson's reprinting of the sonnets (1640) mentioned in section 1.1.

version either gender neutral or written for a female recipient (most commonly sonnets 18, 116 and 130). As Smith (2007:4) points out, this selectiveness allows the translators and/or publishers to create a heteronormative narrative for the sonnets, particularly if they appear alongside other poetry explicitly written by male authors for female recipients.

While the selection excludes translations that offer only a partial version of the sonnets, the full collections included in the analysis are frequently part of a larger corpus or published with other works. Most commonly, they include Shakespeare's narrative poem *A Lover's Complaint* that was originally a part of the quarto edition (Feldek, 2001; Pinkava, 2010; Urbánková, 1997), and in one case, the sonnets are part of a six-volume collection of Shakespeare's complete works (Vrchlický & Klášterský, 1964). As these additions have no direct influence on the textual translation of the sonnets, these versions are included in the corpus selection.

The second criterion for the inclusion of these translations was their official publication, which was deemed important due to the possible influence of editorial or censorial changes during the publishing process. For this reason, a complete Czech version of the sonnets from the late 1950s translated by František Nevrla is not included, as it was never officially published[19]. The majority of the translations in this corpus were printed in a traditional way by an external publishing house; the two exceptions are Josek (2008) whose translation was printed through his own publishing house *Romeo*, and Pinkava (2010) who chose to use the self-publishing platform *CreateSpace*.

These criteria leave fifteen Czech and Slovak translations as the corpus of this work, with a relatively even ratio of versions published during the two main historical eras – seven translations published before 1989, and eight afterwards. While the corpus is still relatively large, considering that each of these translations contains 154 sonnets, it was important to create a sample that would represent all versions of the sonnets available on the Czechoslovak market and through as long a historical period as

[19] Drábek (2012:217-220) describes how the lack of appropriate political connections together with the hegemonic influence of the already highly celebrated 1955 translation by Vladislav prevented Nevrla from publishing his sonnets, as well as a great majority of his other Shakespearean translations.

possible. The following section will briefly introduce each of these versions and situate their prints and reprints into their respective historical contexts.

3.1.1 CORPUS OVERVIEW

While several Czech and Slovak poets, particularly from the Romantic Period of the 19th century, translated parts of Shakespeare's sonnet collection, the first complete version appears in print just after the First World War in 1923, within the newly formed Czechoslovak Republic. The author of this collection is the Czech poet and translator Antonín Klášterský, who is in many ways indebted to the poetic traditions of the previous century in his vocabulary and rhyming conventions. It remains the only complete translation published in the interwar period, before the communist coup d'état in 1948.

The first full translation within the newly formed Czechoslovak Socialist Republic was published in 1955 and was the work of the Czech translator and poet Jan Vladislav[20]. Vladislav belongs to the generation of poets whose original writing was severely restricted due to his non-complacency with the regime's expectations, and who turned to the more acceptable work of translation. Despite some reservations from literary critics over his changes to the metrical structure of the sonnets, Vladislav's translation was met with an extraordinarily good reception from the readership, and his sonnets were subsequently reprinted by different publishing houses in 1958, 1969 and 1970. Vladislav's version became the leading translation of the sonnets during the socialist era, and later translators mention its dominant position in the general consciousness of the readers (Uličný, 2005:183) as well as its influence on their own work (Hodek, 1995:179).

The first Slovak translation of Shakespeare's sonnets appears likewise in the post-war socialist period in 1958, and is the work of a young and ambitious, although relatively unknown, translator Stanislav Blaho. His work is criticised for being clumsy and lacking a sense of poetic phrasing (Vilikovský, 2014:76), however, as the first

[20] A partial version of some of the sonnets translated by Vladislav was published already in 1945 (Prague, V. Šmidt).

complete sonnet translation, it remains a significant endeavour within the Slovak literary tradition.

In the early 1950s, several forgotten notebooks containing, amongst others, a partial translation of the sonnets by Jaroslav Vrchlický resurfaced in a literary archive. As Vrchlický is heralded as one of the greatest names of Czech romantic poetry, this translation immediately attracted attention and was published in its partial form in 1954. In 1964, his translations were used as part of a six-volume series of Shakespeare's complete works, and Vrchlický's missing sonnets 108-129 and 121-140 were supplied from the aforementioned 1923 translation from Vrchlický's friend Antonín Klášterský, without any editorial changes to the text of the poems.

The Vrchlický and Klášterský version was followed by another co-translated version of the sonnets published in 1976. At the core of this collaborative endeavour were 35 sonnets translated by Erik Adolf Saudek, a prolific scholar whose attempt to translate Shakespeare's full works was cut short by his death in 1963. The Czech publishing house *Československý Spisovatel* invited six translators – Břetislav Hodek, Zdeněk Hron, František Hrubín, Pavel Šrut, Miloslav Uličný and Jarmila Urbánková – to divide the rest of the collection amongst themselves in order to complete the translation. Four of these translators later built on these partial translations and used them as a foundation for their own full versions of the sonnets published later in their career[21].

In the early 1980s, the publishing house *Lyra Pragensis* decided to commission three translators to produce their own individual and full versions of the sonnets and publish them as a small series, perhaps partly to emphasise the variations in individual translations. The *Lyra Pragensis* sonnets were all published in the then-popular format for poetry volumes called *kolibříky* [hummingbirds], which, as the name suggests, were small leather-bound editions that were supposed to fit into one's pocket and accompany the poetry lover wherever they went. The first of these was published in 1986 and was the work of the Czech translator and diplomat Zdeněk Hron, and this version builds on the thirty sonnets he had already translated for the 1976 version

[21] This work uses the name 'Saudek' when referring to the whole collection. When the context requires the identification of individual translators of the sonnets, these will be marked in brackets as follows: Saudek (Uličný).

without any discernible changes. Hron's translation was later reprinted in a regular size in 2011.

In the late 1980s, the editor of the largest Slovak publishing house *Slovenský Spisovateľ* received via post a full translation of the sonnets by a wholly unknown high school teacher from Eastern Slovakia, Anna Sedlačková (Feldek, 2007:195). Her version was added to the editing plan and published in 1987, and later reprinted by the publishing house *Nestor* in 1998.

The *Lyra Pragensis* series continued despite the regime change in 1989, and the next volume published in 1992 is the first post-Velvet revolution translation, as well as last to be published before Czechoslovakia's devolution in 1993. This translation was the work of a dentist and right-wing politician Miroslav Macek, later reprinted in regular size in 2008. The third *Lyra Pragensis* edition published in 1995 was likewise a completed and edited version of the 1976 translation from Břetislav Hodek, a leading Czech authority on Shakespeare's works and a prolific translator from English.

The year 1997 saw the publication of two further translations of the sonnets. The first one was another finalised version of the 1976 partial translation, this time from one of the only two female translators in this corpus, the Czech poet and translator Jarmila Urbánková. The second translation published in 1997 was the work of Martin Hilský, a professor of English literature at Charles University in Prague. Throughout his long and prolific career, Hilský translated the whole corpus of Shakespearean works and received numerous awards, including an MBE. His sonnets were reprinted several times including versions from different publishing houses in 2004 and 2012. The latter version for the publishing house *Atlantis* counts over 400 pages and provides detailed notes on each of the sonnets in both English and Czech, together with several essays on Shakespeare's life and work. Hilský regularly appears in media and organises talks for academic as well as non-academic audiences, which is one of the reasons why his name is the one most commonly associated with Shakespeare's translations amongst the broader public.

While the Slovak Shakespearean tradition is considerably smaller than the Czech one, it likewise has its major figures similar to Hilský and Vladislav. One of the most popular contemporary poets, authors, and playwrights, Ľubomír Feldek, is

working on a complete translation of Shakespeare's plays and poems, which started with his version of the sonnets published in 2001. Reprinted in 2007, Feldek's sonnets are the most popular and readily available version in Slovak bookstores at the time of writing this thesis, and his version of the plays are the most likely to be staged in Slovak theatres.

The last translation based on the collaborative work from 1976 is the work of the translator and former professor at Charles University Miloslav Uličný with his version from 2005. Interestingly, his later reprint of this collection from 2015 is titled *Edward de Vere or William Shakespeare: Sonnets* and is published 'to mark 465 years since the birth of Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford, the likely author of the sonnets' (2015:220). Uličný openly suggests that the sonnets were written by Edward de Vere and that William Shakespeare is the man for whom the poems were written.

While Czech Shakespearean studies were in the late 1990s and early 2000s dominated by Hilský's complete translations of his work, his supremacy in this field was in the last two decades contested by the former head of translation studies at Charles University in Prague, Jiří Josek. Like Hilský, Josek undertook the colossal task of translating the complete Shakespearean corpus, and he publishes all of these in bilingual editions in his own publishing house *Romeo*. His version of the sonnets came out in 2008.

The so far last complete Czech translation of Shakespeare's sonnets to this date appeared in 2010 through Amazon's self-publishing platform *CreateSpace*. It is the work of Václav Z.J.Pinkava, the son of a famous Czech author and poet Jan Křesadlo who emigrated to the UK after the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968. His son Václav grew up in England but after graduating from Oxford University returned to live in the Czech Republic.

The fifteen translations introduced in this section are diverse in many ways, including the occupations of the translators, the circumstances of their creation and publication, and their varying degrees of popularity represented by the presence (or lack of) reprints. The overview also uncovers some asymmetries in the corpus; aside from the aforementioned ratio of Slovak and Czech translations, there is a gender imbalance with only two female translators in the entire corpus. While there is no detailed data on the gender ratio in Czech and Slovak publishing industries, it is

probable that this imbalance is the result of a wider trend where high-profile translations are still seen as a male domain. Given the population of the two countries – roughly 10 million Czechs and 5 million Slovaks in the 21st century – the number of different versions of the sonnets might appear surprisingly high, as is the fact that some of them were published so shortly after each other. This can be partly explained by the lasting popularity of Shakespeare's work in both countries, already mentioned in section 1.4. Another factor is that this highly acclaimed but also considerably difficult collection presents a particular challenge to many translators, as they frequently mention in their forewords or afterwords. As the overview shows, several translators took the initiative to translate the sonnets and send the finished version to a publishing house without an invitation or request to do so. Further details about the individual translators, their professional paths and the circumstances under which they published their works will be included in the individual parts of the corpus analysis. Appendix 1 also provides the information mentioned in this overview condensed into a chronological table.

3.2 METHODOLOGY

The fifteen translations that create the corpus for this work represent a century of Shakespeare's sonnets in the Czech Republic and Slovakia, and the inclusion of all of them is essential in order to create a representative picture of the changing approaches and attitudes towards the element of same-sex love in the poems. However, given the fact that these collections consist of 154 sonnets, each with fourteen lines, the corpus inevitably presents a problem due to its size. Although it might appear logical to apply machine-assisted corpus linguistics as a methodological approach for a body of text consisting of 2,310 poems, I have decided against this option for two reasons. Firstly, with the exception of the two most recent translations, the corpus is only available as physical books. Many of them are old and have had several owners before being collected for this study, which makes scanning in order to build up an electronic corpus considerably difficult. A digitalisation of such a corpus would be too time-consuming for a project of this scale. Secondly, as the aim of this analysis is to compare and evaluate the different translation approaches towards the subject of same-sex desire in the poems, such an enquiry goes beyond the textual level that could be

detected in a corpus linguistic process, and it is necessary to include also the contextual and paratextual data as part of the analysis. In order to achieve this, the methodological framework for this project consists of two combined approaches; a quantitative analysis, which was designed and applied so as to reflect the individual characteristics of this corpus, and a qualitative analysis that looks at the poems on a textual, contextual and paratextual level. The following overview will introduce these two approaches, describe the way in which they will be applied to the corpus, and finally explain the order in which this corpus will be presented in the analytical part of the thesis.

3.2.1 QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

As was described in section 1.1, there is a long tradition of reading Shakespeare's sonnets as a tale with two narratives: the Fair Youth sequence (sonnets 1-126) that is presumed to be dedicated to a male recipient, and the Dark Lady sequence (sonnets 127-154) written for a female addressee. One of the reasons why this division is so frequently disputed is the fact that very few of the sonnets in either of these sequences clearly identify the recipient as male or female, which is largely due to the fact that English is not a strongly gendered language as was described in section 1.5. The quantitative part of this project is based on this grammatical disparity between the source language and target languages, and attempts to answer a single question: how many sonnets within the chosen section are dedicated to a clearly male or female recipient, and how many remain gender neutral? While the question might appear simple, the answer is considerably complicated by the ambiguity of the sonnets in their original version, as the possible identification of the recipient's gender is, in many cases, open to the reader's interpretation. This led to the development of a quantifying scheme that was designed so as to minimise the vagueness and maximise the comparative potential of the three languages.

The first step in achieving this scheme was the limitation of the number of sonnets used for the quantitative analysis. As the focus of this work is same-sex affection within the sonnets, the greatest emphasis is laid on those poems that could be interpreted as having a romantic or sexual undertone. While the sonnets cover a variety of themes including passage of time and human mortality, the great majority of them address an unnamed *you* or *thou* in ways that suggest an intimate and

affectionate bond. The exception from this theme is the first seventeen poems that are usually grouped together as the *Procreation Sonnets;* the majority of commentators agree that these are all dedicated to the persuasion of the recipient to get married and have children. While there are poems that could be interpreted as relating to the later sonnets, their joined motif stands in contrast to the romantic themes developed in the rest of the collection. For this reason, the Procreation Sonnets between numbers 1 to 17 are excluded from the quantitative analysis.

The same limitation will be in place for sonnets at the end of the collection between numbers 127 and 154, that are traditionally called the Dark Lady sequence. While again the exact meaning of these sonnets as well as their placement within the collection are often contested, it is clear that the translators within this corpus were aware of the assumed division and respected the groups to a certain degree. As the affection expressed in this sequence is generally perceived to be directed to a female recipient and therefore their relevance to the subject of same-sex affection is not immediately obvious, the Dark Lady sequence of sonnets between 127 and 154 will likewise not be included in the quantitative analysis. This is not to say that a close analysis of both of the excluded sequences could not be an interesting contribution to the subject: however, the spatial restrictions of this work necessitated limitations to the corpus, and this was found to be the most logical approach to it. A full-scale analysis of the fifteen translations might be a subject for future projects.

This decision then leaves sonnets 18 to 126 as the key corpus used to enumerate how many of the sonnets have a clearly denoted male or female recipient, and how many are left without a gendered marker in English. The next step in the construction of a workable methodological structure was the categorisation of the sonnets into these gendered groups, which again presents issues rooted in the ambiguity of the original poems. This issue is less prominent in the translated versions due to the gendered nature of both the Czech and the Slovak language, but the English version requires a brief justification of the categorisation used throughout the analysis. The sonnets are divided into the following four categories:

M = male recipient

F = female recipient

- = recipient or object of affection with unspecified gender or with no clear human recipient

B = two recipients, both male and female

The English version does not include any sonnets with a clear female recipient within the 18-126 corpus, but the marker F will become relevant in some of the translated versions. The B category is, in the English corpus, used for sonnets 41 and 42 that both describe affection for a male and a female recipient. Although sonnet 42 does not have the male recipient explicitly stated, the poem would not make sense with a second female recipient. The decision on whether to classify a sonnet as gender-ambiguous was primarily led by the following question: could the sonnet be read, on a purely textual level, as having either a male or a female recipient? This division resulted in categorising the great majority of the sonnets as gender-neutral, with the exception of the following ones that were considered decidedly male (M):

- All poems that use male pronouns to denote the addressee/recipient of affection - numbers 19, 39, 63, 67, 68 and 101
- All sonnets that use male nouns to denote the addressee/recipient of affection - numbers 26 (‘Lord of my love’), 108 (‘sweet boy’), 110 (‘god in love’ – as the English language offers the term ‘goddess’) and 126 (‘my lovely boy’)
- All sonnets in which the context does not allow for a possible female interpretation – numbers 20 (text of the sonnet clearly states that (female) nature fell in love with the recipient and made him into a man during the creation process) and 82 (as it mentions the recipient being married to the author’s muse who is explicitly female, and an implication of same-sex marriage in Renaissance England is considered improbable).

Several of the sonnets that are often considered as having a male recipient were left out from this list, as they did not meet the set criteria. This includes sonnet 33 that, while using male pronouns, is addressed to the Sun, which is traditionally seen as male in English, but its gender is neuter in Czech and Slovak, or sonnet 106 that includes the verb ‘master’ which, while a male marker, is not directly referring to the recipient of the sonnet. Under these criteria, the final numbers for the sonnets in the sequence used for the quantitative analysis are as follows:

Sonnets 18-126	
M	12
F	0
-	95
B	2

A detailed breakdown of the gender division of all 109 sonnets together with the results of the quantitative analysis of the fifteen translations can be found in Appendix 3. Due to the ambiguity of poetry in general and the sonnet collection in particular, there is an abundance of different scholarly opinion on the number of sonnets with a male, female or a neutral recipient. Many esteemed Shakespearean scholars developed their own theories on the ratio of gendered and neutral sonnets (De Grazia, 1993; Edmondson & Wells, 2004; Nelles, 2009; Roberts, 2007; Smith, 1999; Vendler, 1997), and the resulting number of poems each of them considers as dedicated to a gendered or an ungendered recipient varies widely between these scholars. Their opinions are frequently based on external clues and theories related to Shakespeare's life or particular linguistic traits of Elizabethan and Jacobean England as well as on a wealth of other research conducted within this broad academic field. While it is probable that some of the most recent translators had access to these studies, the attempt to ascertain to which degree they were influenced by these theories goes beyond the scope of this research and could be the subject of future projects. In order to provide a workable scheme that could be applied on all translators, whether they were working under the socialist regime with limited access to Western scholarship, or in the modern days of internet research, I have instead opted to devise my own scheme for enumerating the number of gendered or ungendered sonnets in the selected section. This division focuses on that part of the poems that each of the translators had certain access to, which is the text of the sonnets themselves. While, as mentioned, it excludes further possible influences onto the translation process, it was found to be the most suitable compromise in trying to find a workable approach to a corpus that spans such a large part of history and that includes some translators about whom it is almost impossible to find any further information.

The group of sonnets between the numbers 18 and 126 will be referred to as the Fair Youth sequence as this is the most usual way to indicate this part of the collection, and the expression is conveniently gender neutral. In order to retain the ambiguity of the original collection, I am using the pronoun 'they' in those cases where the sonnets' recipient is of unspecified gender in the English version. The writer of the sonnets is referred to as 'the author', as this description allows for the different interpretations of their subjectivity in relation to William Shakespeare.

3.2.2 QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

While the quantitative analysis provides a tool for a large-scale comparison of the whole corpus of 126 sonnets and will help to uncover the patterns of gendering in each of the fifteen translations, its results are necessarily one-dimensional. In order to fully comprehend the varying approaches translators applied in regard to the subject of same-sex affection in the sonnets, it is necessary to subject individual translations to a qualitative analysis. This will focus on the textual, contextual and paratextual features of the sonnets, subjecting the individual poems to a detailed investigation that will reveal further patterns in translation strategies that help individual translators to follow their own narrative threads in the sonnet collections. The textual part of the analysis focuses on semantic choices, targeting keywords that establish the identity of the sonnets' recipient or describe the emotional attachment of the author towards this person or persons. The contextual elements will consider these keywords within the context of the individual sonnets, examining how connotative and semantical shifts alter the possible interpretations of the poems. Lastly, the paratextual analysis will target those elements of the collection that surround the poems and that too have the potential to influence the readerly perspectives; the analysis focuses on the comments provided to some of the sonnets in their translated versions, as well as on the forewords and afterwords that accompany the individual editions.

The size of the corpus totalling 1,635 poems does again present issues in a detailed qualitative analysis, and some limitations had to be introduced in order to evenly process such a large amount of data. The inquiry will necessarily focus only on those elements of the poems that have the potential to alter or completely remove the homoerotic subtext from the poems; the presence or absence of a male recipient, and

the type of relationship described in the sonnets. The choice of examples for the individual parts of the analysis is likewise selective in order to best represent the individual strategies of the translators, or to stress the similarity of their approaches. In order to avoid some of the bias that is inherent in such a selective enquiry, the analysis will include cross-corpus examples of some of the most marked expressions and keywords from the sonnets that hope to further illustrate and represent the data from a more comprehensive perspective, as well as a list of further examples of the most marked elements for each of the analysed versions in the appendix part of the thesis.

3.2.3 STRUCTURE OF CORPUS ANALYSIS

The previous two sections explained the quantitative and qualitative methodologies that will be applied to the corpus and introduced some of the limitations to these approaches that are necessary in order to process a data set containing more than one thousand poems. The final issue presented by such an extensive corpus is the question of how to present this data in a way that is comprehensive yet concise.

While it may appear logical to order the fifteen sonnet editions chronologically and group individual translations depending on the political era under which they were produced and published, or to divide the translators by their gender or nationality, I have ultimately decided to present them thematically depending on their approach to the possibility of a male beloved and same-sex affection in general. For this reason, the analysis starts with the work of four translators: Miroslav Macek, Jiří Josek, Jarmila Urbánková and Václav Pinkava. These translators use approaches towards the aforementioned subjects that stand in a marked contrast to the rest of the corpus and their decisions bring considerable implications to the interpretative potential of the sonnets. Each of the four translators will be dedicated a separate chapter that will focus on a detailed textual analysis of their strategies as well as their significance in a wider context. These translators will be introduced first as it is their comparison with the remaining, largely homogeneous group of editions in the following part that highlights the differences in style and approaches most successfully. The remaining eleven translators use remarkably similar approaches towards the subject of same-sex affection, which is why it has been decided to present them together in the final

analytical Chapter 8. It is nonetheless necessary to view these within their historical, pre-and post-1989 contexts, which is why this chapter will be divided into two groups of translators publishing before and after the Velvet Revolution. The decision to present the data in this order arose after a long deliberation and has been considered to be the most efficient compromise between two key aims; to present the data in a way that highlights both the differences and the repeating patterns in the individual translation approaches, and between creating a corpus that would be structurally justifiable and logically comprehensible to the reader.

3.3 CHAPTER REVIEW

The purpose of this third chapter was to introduce the corpus for the following analysis and describe the methodological framework with which it will be approached. As the aim of this thesis is to observe patterns of changing translation strategies with the backdrop of socio-political shifts in the Czech Republic and Slovakia, the corpus was chosen so as to illustrate these changes on the largest and most representative scale possible. The first part of this chapter described the selection process and provided a brief overview of the fifteen Czech and Slovak translations of Shakespeare's sonnets that form the corpus of this work. While these translations, covering a time span of nearly a century, are a highly suitable medium for historical research, a corpus of such size presents its own issues due to its scale. The second part of this chapter addressed these problems and described the two-step methodological approach that was designed to best suit the type and scope of such a corpus. The first step will consist of a quantitative analysis which aims to explore how the largely gender-neutral sonnets were translated into two grammatically gendered languages, Czech and Slovak. The trends and tendencies explored through this process will then be further examined through a second stage, a qualitative analysis consisting of a close textual, contextual and paratextual inquiry into the translated sonnets. This second part complements the macro-level observations of the quantitative part with micro-level findings that further illustrate the varying strategies of the individual translators, and helps to compare these in order to create a coherent picture of the different forms in which the sonnets were presented to the Czechoslovak and later day Czech and Slovak audiences. The final section introduces and justifies the choice to order the translations thematically, rather

than chronologically, and introduces the structural foundations of the analysis. The chapter also addresses some of the necessary limitations implemented due to the size of this corpus and describes the strategies applied in order to minimise the potential bias in the process of the two enquiries. While it is not possible to completely eliminate a certain level of personal partiality from the type of analysis that was deemed necessary for this project, it is hoped that the combination of both quantitative and qualitative stages as well as the inclusion of further examples in the appendix part of this thesis will help to minimise these concerns.

4 CORPUS ANALYSIS – MIROSLAV MACEK

The first translation introduced as part of the corpus analysis will be the 1992 version of the sonnets by Miroslav Macek. As will be demonstrated in this chapter, Macek's translation represents one of the most frequent censorial strategies of texts with same-sex elements, which is a subtle but systematic suggestion that the sonnets belong to a heteronormative narrative. Before delving into the quantitative and qualitative analyses of his work, the chapter will first provide information about the translator himself as well as an overview of his sonnet collection, including some of its paratextual features and its critical reception.

4.1 TRANSLATOR'S PROFILE

Born in 1944, Miroslav Macek is a politician, journalist and writer, best known for his involvement in the Czech political scene as part of the right-wing party ODS. His professional career started in dentistry before he decided to join the Czechoslovak political landscape during the turbulent era of regime changes in the late 1980s. He became a member of *Občanské Fórum* (Civic Forum, OF), a broad political platform that developed as the main opposition to the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia during the events of the Velvet Revolution. Within the newly established democratic regime, OF transformed into *Občanská demokratická strana* (Civic Democratic Party, ODS), which remained as the main right-wing party in the Czechoslovak and the later Czech government to the current day. ODS was closely modelled after the British Conservative Party (Hanley & Szczerbiak, 2006:19), and acts in strong opposition to leftist tendencies. Macek occupied various posts throughout the party's history, with his highest-ranking position being deputy prime minister between the years 1991 and 1992, a time coinciding with the first publication of his sonnet translation.

With perhaps the exception of the popular professor of English Martin Hilský who will be introduced in Chapter 8, Macek is the most publicly recognisable person from the group of fifteen translators that represent this corpus. This also means that many of his personal beliefs and attitudes are publicly available and offer a degree of transparency that is not accessible for the majority of other translators. Although Macek is currently retired from his official posts, he remains active within the political

sphere, and his opinions on a variety of social issues are spread through media, news outlets and on his personal blog. Macek's attitude towards homosexuality can be assessed from his commentary on the subject of Pride marches in the Czech Republic, where he claims he does not mind homosexuals and other 'people with genetic deviations', however he dislikes the 'arrogance (...) of the claim that homosexuality is something 'more', something worthy of admiration and even pride, something that deserves to be shouted about' (Macek, 2011). Macek's conservative stance can be judged by a quote from a more recent date: 'It seems like the time is coming when it will be beneficial to be a homosexual Gypsy who converted to Islam. He will be the only one who won't be accused of all sort of things by people who try to bargain with human rights' (Macek, 2015). While it is necessary to be cautious in making direct links between a translator's political stance and their translation work, the analysis below shows that there are possible connections between Macek's homophobic comments and the approach he chose in his sonnet translations.

4.2 MACEK'S SONNETS

Macek's translation is the second[22] in a series of three sonnet versions published in small, pocket-sized editions bound in leather known as 'hummingbirds', popular for the publication of poetry volumes in the late 20th century Czechoslovakia. They were all commissioned by *Lyra Pragensis*, a Czech association that focuses on the promotion of music, poetry and visual arts, and that occasionally publishes books as is the case with the sonnets. As the association has a limited budget, it is unsurprising that Macek's volume was published with the help of an external sponsor, global tobacco company *Philip Morris*, whose most famous product is Marlboro cigarettes. This aptly illustrates the fact that Macek's translation is the first one published within the newly democratic and capitalist country, where independent publishing houses were quickly replacing the state-owned monopoly on book printing from the previous regime. Macek's translation is also the last one published in Czechoslovakia, as the two countries separated in the year following the volume's publication.

[22] For the other two translations by Hron (1986) and Hodek (1995), see Chapter 8.

Macek's sonnets were republished in the same format for the second time in *Lyra Pragensis* in 1996. They became part of an anthology of the translator's work published as *Anglická poezie v překladech Miroslava Macka* (English Poetry in Miroslav Macek's Translations, 2006), and published again as a standalone piece two years later, through the publishing house *XYZ* (2008). The two new versions do not include any of the paratextual features (illustrations, afterword, alternative dedication or additional sonnet) mentioned below, but no changes were made to the text of the poems themselves.

Several Shakespearean scholars and fellow translators comment on Macek's translation approach, particularly on his choices in regard to the gender of the recipient. Miloslav Uličný (Chapter 8) considers Macek's text to be so different from the original version that he calls it 'more of a paraphrase than a translation' (2015:189). Another fellow translator, Martin Hilský (Chapter 8), goes a step further and directly connects Macek's translation with his political tendencies. In an essay on Shakespearean translations in the Czech Republic, Hilský mentions that 'only one contemporary translator (incidentally one of the leading right-wing politicians of the country) […] did not hesitate to change the sex of the sonnets' (Hilský, 2003:144).

Macek himself was questioned about his translation approaches in an interview for a Czech Shakespeare-themed student journal[23]. In answer to the question of what led him to the choice of a female addressee in several poems included in the traditionally male-addressed Fair Youth sequence, Macek responded as follows: 'If you read the originals really carefully, you know when they are unquestionably dedicated to a man – and that is how I translated them. And when you cannot tell, I acted emotionally and dedicated them to a woman' (Krajník, 2008:27). The analysis below will question some of Macek's claims about this statement.

Macek's edition includes a short afterword from the esteemed Shakespearean scholar Zdeněk Stříbrný that includes the usual brief overview of the author's life and the formal attributes of his poetry. The theme of the sonnets is summed up in the following paragraph:

[23] Although the interview was conducted in Czech, the article was printed in an English translation. The journal does not mention the name of the translator.

> A wholly conventional persuading of the young, noble man to overcome the destructiveness of time and preserve his kin, that later grows into a close relationship, in which both men are heavily tried through the changes in their respective affection not only through separation but through the inclusion of further characters; the poetic (m.)rival and the mysterious black (f.)lover with raven hair, a swarthy bosom and eyes so dark that they "mourners seem" (p.178, last part is a direct quote from Macek's translation of S.127/10, p.146).

While Stříbrný's commentary suggests he is referring more to the original version of the sonnets than to Macek's translation, as will be visible from the analysis below, the emphasis on the appearance and the author's possible erotic attraction to the female recipient of the sonnets ties the theme with Macek's translation approach.

The volume includes nine illustrations from Josef Novotný, all of them depicting a female body or face which further supports the heteronormative narrative Macek inserts into the sonnets. A surprising addition to the text of the collection is a sonnet written by the translator and dedicated to Shakespeare himself, printed on the last page of the volume (181). The sonnet describes Macek's infatuation with the sonnet collection and his struggles during the translation process, but the most interesting part for our purposes is line 9, where Macek admits 'That I translate the poems for my (f.)dear/lover[24]'.

As will be visible from the textual analysis, Macek indeed 'hijacks' the poems in a way none of the other fourteen translations attempted. This intention is echoed by another addition to the paratextual corpus, which is a second dedication added to the one found in the quarto edition of the sonnets. Printed so that it mirrors the translated version of the original, the translator's dedication reads:

> *Všem* ***původkyním*** *těchto sonetů hodně štěstí, věčnost slíbenou stále živým básníkem a vše dobré přeje odvážný překladatel M.M.*
>
> [To all (**f.)begetters** of these sonnets much happiness, eternity promised by the ever-living poet and all the best wishes the daring translator M.M.]

[24] '*mou milou*', for a full explanation of the term see section 4.4.1.2. below.

The intertextual link between the ‘only begetter’ from the original dedication with ‘all (female) begetters’ in the alternative version creates a clear image about the way the translator wishes the sonnets to be read, particularly as both dedications are printed on pages directly preceding the first sonnet. Interestingly, this dedication also highlights the translator’s agency in a way that is largely singular in the rest of the corpus.

4.3 QUANTITATIVE CORPUS ANALYSIS

As was described in Chapter 3, the quantitative analysis of the corpus aims to highlight how the translators into Czech and Slovak approached the high number of gender ambiguous sonnets in the original English version through a comparison of the number of gendered sonnets in the translation. Under the criteria introduced in the same chapter, the sequence of sonnets between 18 and 126 contains twelve sonnets dedicated to a male recipient, two with a male and a female recipient, and no sonnets dedicated to a woman. When compared with this original ratio, Macek’s sonnets provide a highly interesting result:

	Shakespeare	**Macek**
M	12	11
F	0	33
-	95	63
B	2	2

The key difference immediately obvious from this analysis are the thirty-three sonnets dedicated to a female recipient in Macek’s version of the collection. With the exception of three female-addressed sonnets in the Vrchlický & Klášterský 1964 version which will be further elaborated on in Chapter 8, none of the translators from this corpus includes any decidedly female-addressed sonnets in their translations, which marks Macek’s version as singular in this aspect. Another interesting point is the lower number of male-addressed sonnets, which suggests that at least one of the poems originally dedicated to a male recipient was either gender-neutral or female-addressed in the translated version. The following qualitative analysis will further

explore Macek's translation decisions on a more detailed textual level, and then combine these results with the quantitative analysis. A full-scale quantitative analysis of his individual sonnets can be found in Appendix 3.

4.4 QUALITATIVE CORPUS ANALYSIS

The second stage of the process which is a qualitative analysis of the corpus will offer a more comprehensive overview of the actual translation strategies applied by Macek on a textual as well as a contextual level. The analysis is divided into subgroups based on the type of changes Macek applies to the corpus and that potentially shift the way same-sex affection in the original sonnets can be interpreted by Czech readers.

4.4.1 GENDER-NEUTRAL SONNETS TRANSLATED AS EXPLICITLY FEMALE

The most common way in which Macek alters the possible narrative of same-sex affection and desire in the sonnets is through a shift from gender-neutral poems towards female-addressed ones. In these, Macek most commonly relies on the many grammatically gendered features of the Czech language that do not appear in English.

4.4.1.1 Grammatical gender shift – adjectives, verbs, nouns and pronouns

A linguistically simple option to define the gender of the sonnets' recipient is through the use of adjectives, as the Czech language requires these to agree in gender as well as in case and number with the noun they refer to. The gender shift can be therefore achieved with a simple suffix, as can be demonstrated in Macek's version of sonnet 88. The poem assures the addressee that, should they start enumerating the author's mistakes, the author will support them by adding a list of his own shortcomings. The reason for this is revealed in the couplet: *Such is my love, to thee I so belong, | That for thy right, myself will bear all wrong* (l.13-14). The self-defeating force of the sonnet together with the clearly expressed devotion in the couplet make it difficult to conciliate with the idea of a platonic friendship seen from a 21st century

perspective, and Macek decides that the author's feelings are aimed at a clearly female recipient:

S.88/4, p.105[25]
And prove thee virtuous, though thou art **forsworn**.
*Tvé cnosti hájit, i když **nevěrná** jsi*
[Your virtues defend, even if you are **(f.)unfaithful**][26]

The adjective *forsworn* is in this case used in its archaic meaning of perjury as the author accuses the recipient of 'breaking your 'faith' to me' (Blakemore Evans, 1996:196). Neither Czech nor Slovak have a literal equivalent of this adjective, which can be seen in the variety of expressions used by fellow translators of the sonnet where the most common solutions are variations on the verb *to lie* (Vladislav, Hron, Hodek, Hilský). Macek's decision to use the adjective *nevěrná* is only mirrored in Vrchlický's translation from 1964, but he uses it in its explicitly masculine form *nevěrný*, which immediately signals to the reader that the recipient of this poem is male. Through the use of the feminine form of this adjective, Macek's translation is the only one out of the whole corpus that renders sonnet 88 as having a female recipient. He further uses feminine forms of adjectives to indicate a female recipient in originally neutral poems in sonnets 45, 58, 61, 70 and 120 (Appendix 4.1.).

Another semantic shift that Macek repeatedly applies throughout the translation is the use of a feminine declination of a verb. While present tense does not require the choice between genders in the Czech language in the majority of cases, verbs in past tense have to agree in gender with the subject of the clause. A good example of this is sonnet 34 which accuses the recipient of an unspecified betrayal that had an equally unspecified but clearly negative effect on the author. As almost the entire sonnet refers to this event, it is one of the few poems that uses a high number of nouns in past tense, compelling Czech and Slovak translators to choose the gender of the recipient where Shakespeare remains vague. Macek clearly determines the gender of the addressee already in the first line of the sonnet:

[25] Unless indicated otherwise all page numbers refer to the first edition of the sonnet translations, in this case to Macek's 1992 edition.
[26] All back translations of the Czech and Slovak sonnet lines are my own and I have deliberately kept them as literal as possible, which inevitably makes them appear distinctly un-poetic.

S.34/1, p.47

Why didst thou **promise** such a beauteous day

*Proč nádherný den jsi mi **slibovala**?*

[Why did you **(f.)promise** me a splendid day?]

The decision is particularly striking when compared with the rest of the corpus, where twelve out of the fifteen translators dedicate this sonnet to a clearly male recipient through their use of gendered verbs and other grammatical forms. Macek is again the only one addressing a female recipient. Josek and Pinkava who retain the gender ambiguity of the sonnet will be analysed in their respective chapters 5 and 7. Further examples of Macek's use of a feminine verb in translations can be found in sonnets 72, 79 and 106 (Appendix 4.2.)

The same pattern as with adjectives and verbs can also be traced in Macek's use of feminine pronouns, as illustrated in sonnet 96. In this complimentary poem, the author first describes the recipient's attractions as so strong as to turn their faults into embellishments, and then states that the addressee could 'lead away' many more admirers should they wish. The couplet however asks the recipient to rethink this intention: *But do not so; I love thee in such sort, | As, thou being mine, mine is thy good report* (l.13-14). The last line in Macek's translation reveals the gender of his intended recipient as female:

S.96/14 p.113

As, thou being **mine**, mine is thy good report.

*Jsi **má** a s tebou i tvá dobrá pověst*

[You are **(f.)mine**, and with you also your good name]

Macek's version inserts a female recipient into this crucial part of the sonnet, through the translation of the possessive pronoun 'mine' into its feminine form *má*. As in the case of sonnet 88, the variation has no effect on the metric or rhythmic structure of the sonnet as the masculine version would simply be '*jsi můj*', and is a choice made with the intention to include the sonnet into a heteronormative narrative. A comparison with the rest of the corpus strongly resembles the previous example of sonnet 34; eleven out of the fifteen versions translate the sonnet as dedicated to a male recipient,

with the exception of Macek, Josek, Pinkava and Vrchlický[27]. Further examples of Macek's use of feminine pronouns can be found in sonnets 66, 87 and 112 (Appendix 4.3.).

The last shift of grammatical gender that Macek utilises in his translations is his use of nouns, and this occurs in several different ways. In most cases, Macek chooses the feminine form of a noun that is gender ambiguous in its original form, as can be illustrated in sonnet 57. In an often-repeated theme of complete devotion to the addressee, the author describes his subservience towards the recipient (*Being your slave*, l.1), spending his days waiting to be summoned and not daring to question where they might be in the hours of their absence. In line with this theme, the recipient is referred to as *sovereign*, which Shakespeare uses within his works for both male and female rulers (Blakemore Evans, 1996:165).

S.57/6, p.72
Whilst I, **my sovereign**, watch the clock for you,
Kdy hlídám váš čas, moje ***panovnice***
[When I watch over your time, my **(f.)ruler**]

Macek translates this noun with the Czech word *panovnice* which is frequently used for the female ruler of a monarchy, as opposed to the masculine form of the noun *panovník*. The choice of a feminine noun shifts the meaning of the sonnet into a clearly heterosexual dimension, particularly as the noun 'slave' repeated in line 1 and 11 to describe the author of the sonnet are both translated as *otrok* (male slave). The issue of the translation of this particular noun will reappear in Chapter 5 and Macek's change of a neutral noun into a feminine one can also be seen in sonnets 40, 92 and 118 (Appendix 4.4.).

Another interesting feature of Macek translation are the semantic shifts that influence not only the gender of the recipient but also the type of relationship described in the sonnet. This is visible in the case of number 104, where the author reassures the recipient that their beauty did not fade in the three years of their acquaintance:

[27] Josek's translation of sonnet 96 will be analysed in chapter 5. Vrchlický's sonnet 96 starts with a female addressee and ends with a male one, as will be discussed in Chapter 8.

S.104/1, p.121

To me, **fair friend**, you never can be old,

*V mých očích, **drahá**, nezmáhá tě čas*

[In my eyes, **(f.)dear**, you are not tired out by time]

Macek's shift from *friend* to the nominalised adjective *dear* not only determines the gender of the originally ambiguous friend but confirms what is in the English version a relationship open to a number of interpretation into one that strongly suggests a romantic bond. A similar shift occurs in sonnets described in the following section 4.4.1.2. on the use of the noun *milá*.

Lastly, Macek's use of a feminine noun is not limited to the choice of a feminine form of an existing neutral noun in the original version, as there are instances when a word suggesting a female recipient is inserted without an apparent corresponding term in the original poem. An example of this is Macek's version of sonnet 83 that opens with the lines*: I never saw that you did painting need,* | *And therefore to your fair no painting set* (l.1-2). Interpretations of the expression *painting* vary between commentators as it can be understood as a metaphor for praise and flattery (Booth, 1977:281; Kerrigan, 1986:276), or the literal application of cosmetics (Mowat & Werstine, 2004:168), traditionally connected with stage performances and the make-up of actors. Macek chooses this second interpretation, and translates the third line as follows:

S.83/3-4, p.100

I found, or thought I found, you did exceed

That barren tender of a poet's debt:

*vždy vycházel jsem z toho, že jste **žena***

co chabý rým má za marnění času

[I always assumed that you were a **woman**

who considers a weak rhyme to be a loss of time]

With the insertion of a female marker that did not exist in the original sonnet, Macek avoids using the imagery of a man with a painted face and leads the interpretative possibilities of the sonnet towards the author praising a woman's natural beauty. Macek likewise inserts a feminine marker into sonnet 103 (Appendix 4.5).

4.4.1.2 Use of the noun *milá*

Another frequently reoccurring pattern in Macek's translations is his usage of the Czech word '*milá*'. This nominalised form of the adjective *milý/á/é* [dear, kind] can literally mean a person that is dear, but its second, slightly archaic meaning is that of a male (*milý*) or a female (*milá*) lover, used chiefly to denote a semi-official romantic partner before the stage of engagement or marriage, rather as the expressions girlfriend/boyfriend in contemporary use. *Milá* in its female form reappears throughout Macek's corpus, most commonly to replace Shakespeare's expression 'my love' with which he addresses the recipient of the Fair Youth sequence. This can be illustrated in sonnet 64, one of many that adapt the traditional Renaissance theme of the unstoppable passage of time, and pre-emptively laments the future loss of the recipient to this force:

S.64/12, p.79
That Time will come and take **my love** away.
*že čas mi jednou odvede i **milou**.*
[that time will one day lead away my **(f.)dear/lover**.]

Like English, the Czech language offers the possibility to use the noun love (*láska*) to denote not only the emotion but also the person that is loved. It would therefore be possible to translate Shakespeare's 'my love' as '*moje láska*' and retain at least partly the ambiguity of the original text. Macek's decision to include *milou* categorically closes this possibility and creates a clear picture of a male author fearing the loss of his female beloved. The same approach where *milá* replaces 'my love' can also be found in sonnets 47 and 99, and the expression 'my beloved' in sonnet 105 (Appendix 4.6.).

An even more interesting change can be traced in Macek's use of the term *milá* in those instances where the original version calls the recipient *friend*. An example of this approach is sonnet 50, where the author describes how arduous the journey away from the addressee was for him:

S.50/4, p.65
'Thus far the miles are measured from thy **friend**!'
*"Jak mnoho mil me dělí od mé **milé**!"*
["How many miles separate me from my **(f.)dear/lover**!"]

Replacing ‘friend’ with *milá* in this context signifies a semantic shift on two levels, as it not only identifies the previously neutral recipient as female but also brings a decidedly romantic connotation into the relationship between the author and the addressee. The same approach is taken in sonnet 111 (Appendix 4.6.).

Lastly, Macek utilises *milá* to insert a female element into gender-neutral sonnets without there being any recognisable counterpart in the original poem. This is the case of sonnet 78 that is in the traditional reading of the collection the first in the short Rival Poet sequence, where a third person is competing for the addressee’s attention and affection. Sonnet 78 laments the fact that the author celebrated the recipient’s beauty so often that anybody can now praise their qualities:

S.78/1, p.93
So oft have I invoked thee for my Muse,
Tak často, ***milá****, jsi mi Múzou byla*
[So often, **(f.)dear/lover**, you were a Muse to me]

The Muse reappears within the sonnet collection on several occasions, but while the Muse itself is traditionally seen as a female embodiment of a poet’s inspiration, the author never explicitly genders the person who inspires the Muse. Macek identifies this to be the author’s *milá* without any visible counterpart for the expression in the original poem; the same approach can also be found in sonnet 44 (Appendix 4.6.).

The inclusion of the noun *milá* goes beyond the simple gender shift seen in the previous section, as it brings not only the image of a female recipient, but also influences the way the relationship between the author and the recipient is interpreted. *Milá* indicates to Czech and Slovak readers a committed, monogamous relationship with a certain degree of officiality, as it would be unusual to have two persons as one’s *milá* or *milý* at the same time. The frequent insertion of the noun into the poems gives the impression of a unified collection dedicated to the same woman past sonnet 17, as the Fair Youth sequence is followed by the Dark Lady part. It also supports the traditional image of a male poet who dedicates his work to his one true and, in the majority of cases, female, beloved.

4.4.2 MALE-ADDRESSED SONNETS TRANSLATED AS GENDER-NEUTRAL

While the frequency with which Macek uses a female addressee in translations of gender-neutral sonnets certainly points towards a conscious decision to include a female recipient in the Fair Youth sequence, it can still be argued that Macek is merely making a choice guided by his own interpretation of the sonnets and that does not constitute any active attempts at censorship of the poems. However, as the following section will show, Macek's gendered shifts in the sonnets go beyond the simple choice between masculine and feminine where the original is gender neutral and open to both interpretations. The following section will focus on those cases where Macek's translation renders sonnets with a clearly male recipient as gender-neutral ones.

In the first two examples, the original sonnet marks the recipient's gender through the use of a male pronoun. In sonnet 19, the author challenges Time to destroy all of nature and its symbols of longevity but implores it to spare the beauty of the recipient – *O! carve not with thy hours my love's fair brow* (l.9). The gender of the recipient is revealed in line 11, rendered by Macek as follows:

> S.19/11, p.30
> **Him** in thy course untainted do allow
> *ať ve tvém běhu nezmění **se** více,*
> [may **he/she/it** in your run not change anymore]

Through the use of the reflexive personal pronoun *se* that remains unchanged in all three Czech grammatical gender categories, Macek is able to conceal the gender of the recipient of this sonnet. As he also avoids any gender markers throughout the rest of the poem, Macek's version is gender neutral, leaving the reader to make their own conclusions about the identity of the addressee. The decision is likewise unusual when compared with the rest of the corpus, where all other translators except Hilský render this sonnet as having a clear male recipient.

A more complicated intervention can be traced in sonnet 39. Frequently considered a companion piece to sonnet 36 (Paterson, 2010:117), the poem first addresses the recipient and suggests a separation from the author in order to better appreciate the addressee's qualities. The sestet starting with line 9 turns to speak to

absence itself, and the author describes the comfort it gives him while being separated from the recipient.

S.39/9-10, p.52
O absence! what a torment wouldst thou prove,
Were it not thy sour leisure gave sweet leave,
Však odloučení má též vlídnou tvář,
tu otáčí ***k nám*** *v našem soužení*
[But separation also has a kind face,
which it turns **to us** in our ordeal]

Macek disregards the change of focus and retains absence (or separation in this case) as the object of the lines that the author and the addressee experience together. This allows Macek to make further changes to the couplet, where the original sonnet still addresses the metaphorical absence and the object of the lines is the recipient:

S.39/14, p.52
And that **thou** teachest how to make one twain,
By praising **him** here who doth hence remain.
Též učí ***nás****, jak zůstat spolu dál:*
Když ***láska*** *trvá, stále je z* ***nás*** *pár.*
[It teaches **us** too how to stay together from now on:
When **love** lasts, **we** are still a couple]

Through the shift of the object in the sestet from the recipient to absence itself, Macek avoids the use of a male pronoun in the last line of the poem, and through that introduces ambiguity to a sonnet that originally addresses a male recipient. This strategy is particularly interesting when compared with Josek (Chapter 5) and Urbánková (Chapter 6), who both manipulate the sonnet in order to include it into their own intended narratives.

While the previous two examples rely on grammatical and semantic shifts in the sonnets, the last example takes a more direct approach in removing a clearly masculine marker from the poem. Sonnet 108, which will reappear in chapters 6, 7 and 8, is one of the most explicitly masculine-addressed poems in the collection, as it refers to the recipient directly in the second person as *sweet boy*. As mentioned in section

1.1., this explicit term of address was already subjected to censorship in one of the sonnets' earlier reprints by John Benson (1640) where it was replaced by *sweet love*, as well as by the German editor Richard Flatter who chooses *sweet joy* instead (Duncan-Jones, 1997:326). This devotional poem uses religious imagery to praise the recipient and reasserts that despite their long acquaintance, the author will continue to worship them every day like a prayer. While the sonnet leaves little room for alternative interpretations in regards to the gender of the recipient, Macek again decides to introduce the element of ambiguity into his version:

S.108/5, p.125
Nothing, **sweet boy**; but yet, like prayers divine,
*Ne, **moje lásko**, proto v každé době*
[No, **my love**, therefore in every age]

With a strategy strongly resembling Benson's English alteration, Macek replaces *boy* with *love,* which effectively removes any indication for the reader that the recipient of the sonnet was originally male. It is also worth noting that the noun *láska* [love] is of feminine gender in both Czech and Slovak. While the sonnet could be understood as both dedicated to a man or to a woman, the feminine noun describing the object of the affection makes it easier for the reader to jump to the conclusion that the addressee is female.

4.4.3 MALE-ADDRESSED SONNETS TRANSLATED AS FEMALE-ADDRESSED

While it could be argued that the examples above where Macek removes explicitly male markers and replaces them with gender-neutral ones are not clear attempts at censorship as those sonnets are still open to interpretation with both a masculine and a feminine recipient, the two poems introduced in this section clearly show Macek's intention to replace a male recipient with a female one. The first case can be found in sonnet 63, which stands out from the collection through its record use of six masculine pronouns relating to the recipient, as well as the explicitly male noun *king*. As such, it offers a particularly interesting example within the context of this thesis and will reappear again in chapters 5 and 6.

The sonnet uses one of the most frequent themes of the poetry collection, which is the imaginary fight between the passage of time and its destructive force against the beloved, who is in turn protected by the author's immortalisation via poetry. The sonnet opens with the following lines:

S.63/1-2, p.78
Against **my love** shall be as I am now
With Time's injurious hand crush'd and o'erworn;
*Až moji **milou** stihne, co mě kdysi,*
*Čas krutou rukou zdrtí **ji** a zchladí*
[When my **(f.)dear/lover** will meet, what (met) me before,
Time crushes and cools **her** with his cruel hand]

Using the previously explored approach of changing *my love* to *moji milou*, Macek signals already in the opening section that this sonnet has a female recipient, confirming this with the second line and the use of a female pronoun. By confirming the identity of the recipient already in the opening sequence, Macek can remove the masculine pronouns from lines 3 and 4 while relying on the recipient's perception that the words belong to a female beloved:

S.63/3-4, p.78
When hours have drain'd **his** blood and fill'd **his** brow
With lines and wrinkles; when **his** youthful morn
až zředí krev a poznamená rysy
jak brázdami, až krásné jitro mládí
[when [time] dilutes blood and marks features
as if with furrows, when the beautiful dawn of youth]

Using the same strategy through the body of the sonnet and removing both the male pronouns as well as the address *king* in line 6, Macek finally ends the sonnet with a further affirmation of a female recipient in the couplet:

S.63/13, p.78
His beauty shall in these black lines be seen,
And they shall live, and **he** in them still green.

*Když **její** krásu do veršů lze vplést,*
Tak navždycky v nich mládím bude kvést
[If **her** beauty can be twined into verse,
So [she] will youthfully forever bloom in them]

The first line of the couplet best exemplifies the direct approach Macek took in this sonnet, as the original expression *his beauty* changes to *her beauty* in the Czech translation. The last line relies again on the already established assumption of the reader that the beauty whose charms will stay young forever is female and does not necessitate another female pronoun.

The second example, sonnet 101, with its use of four masculine pronouns to denote the gender of the beloved is likewise a frequently contested and altered part of the collection, and will reappear in chapters 5 and 6. The theme of the sonnet is another one of the author's imaginary conversations with his muse, and he accuses her of neglecting her glorification of the beloved. This recipient is referred to in the third person and as such necessitates a frequent use of masculine pronouns throughout the poem. The first (recorded) attempt to conceal this obvious gendering comes again from the 1640 reprint by Ben Johnson. His version changes the male pronoun 'him' in lines 11 and 14 to 'her' and 'he' in line 14 to 'she', but the first male pronoun 'he' in line 6 is retained. What some commentators consider an example of intentional censorship combined with editorial negligence (Alden, 1916:21), others see as Benson's attempt to 'avoid a possible confusion between Truth and the beloved by altering the gender of the latter' (De Grazia, 1993:1). Macek approaches the first masculine pronoun, unaltered by Benson, as follows:

S.101/6 p.118
'Truth needs no colour, with **his** colour fix'd;
že věrnost, prosta příkras, je ti vším.
[that fidelity, free of embellishments, is everything to you.]

By failing to state whose truth or fidelity the argument refers to, Macek is able to completely avoid the first masculine pronoun in the sonnet. The remaining three are rendered in the following way:

S.101/9-14 p.118

Because **he** needs no praise, wilt thou be dumb?
Excuse not silence so, for't lies in thee
To make **him** much outlive a gilded tomb
And to be prais'd of ages yet to be.
Then do thy office, Muse; I teach thee how
To make **him** seem long hence as he shows now.
Jsi němá snad, že nežádá tvou chválu?
Již dosti výmluv: vždyť jenom tvůj hlas
***ji** přežít nechá mauzolea králů*
*a vychválí **ji** pro budoucí čas*
Jen snaž se, Múzo, naučím tě rád
*jak **její** krásu navždy uchovat.*
[Are you perchance mute, that (**he/she/it**) does not require your praise?
Enough of excuses: after all only your voice
lets **her** outlive the tombs of kings
and will praise **her** for the future time
Just try, Muse, I will teach you gladly
how to keep **her** beauty forever.]

While the second masculine pronoun is again removed so that line 9 remains gender-neutral, the two last parts of the sestet together with the couplet use three feminine third-person pronouns. Through this series of changes, Macek is able to include this sonnet into his overarching heteronormative narrative. While many of the examples in the previous parts of this chapter rely on small semiotic shifts and changes in declination, both sonnet 63 and 101 require repeated and systematic alteration of the whole sonnet in order to replace the male recipient with a female one. It also disproves Macek's statement referenced at the beginning of this chapter where he claims to only assign a female gender to those sonnets that are gender ambiguous and point towards a deliberate alteration of the sonnets in their Czech translation.

4.4.4 CHANGES IN MALE-ADDRESSED SONNETS

While the main focus of this analysis is Macek's introduction of a female recipient into the Fair Youth sequence, it is important to also address his approach towards some of the sonnets that remain male-addressed in his translation. While he does not remove the masculine recipient from the sequence completely, the sonnets upon closer inspection reveal small but repeated semantic and contextual shifts that help Macek to include them into his intended narrative. This strategy will be explored in greater detail in Chapter 6 which analyses the translation by Jarmila Urbánková. The changes to these male-addressed sonnets aim to remove the possibility to read them within the context of romantic love and present them instead as platonic poems exchanged between two friends. This primarily affects those keywords that are directly connected with romantic affection, like the noun or verb *love*. One such example can be found in sonnet 82, where the author admits that the recipient is not *married to my Muse* (l.1) and therefore free to inspire other authors, but he warns him in the sestet that this frequently excessive praise does not befit the natural beauty of the beloved. Line 9 invites the author to seek this praise with the following words:

> S.82/9, p.99
> And do so, **love**; yet when they have devis'd,
> *Jen pátrej, vždyť se snaží,* ***příteli***
> [Then search, they are trying, **(m.)friend**]

While the sonnet retains the male gender of the recipient as the noun *friend* is used in its masculine form (as opposed to the female form *přítelkyně*), the contextual change from *love* to *friend* obscures the possibility to read the sonnet as a poem from a jealous lover who sees his beloved praised by others and shifts it towards the platonic instead.

A similarly interesting example can be found in Macek's translation of sonnet 20. While the previous example operated with the noun *love* as a metonym for the person who is loved, sonnet 20 uses *love* in its primary sense of a strong, affectionate feeling towards somebody. The poem starts with the enumeration of the implicitly male beloved's qualities which not only equal but surpass the traditional virtues of women (*A woman's gentle heart, but not acquainted |With shifting change, as is false*

women's fashion l.3-4). The explanation for this follows in the sestet; as nature was in the process of creating this beloved, she fell in love with her own creation and turned him into a man. The final couplet has been traditionally used as a decisive argument by both those who advocate a wholly platonic relationship between the author and the beloved, and those who perceive the sonnets as a collection of amorous same-sex poetry. The double meaning of *prick'd* is one of the few wordplays that survived from Shakespeare's times and is accessible to current readers. A more detailed analysis of this sonnet can be found in Chapter 7:

> S.20/14, p.33
> But since she prick'd thee out for women's pleasure,
> Mine be **thy love** and thy love's use their treasure.
> *Když mají tě mít tedy ženy rády*
> *má buď **tvá přízeň**, tvoje jejich vnady*
> [If then women are supposed to like you
> mine be **your favour**, yours their allures]

In Macek's translation, the supremacy of the love demanded by the author as opposed to the favours the beloved can bestow upon women disappears as his translation replaces *love* with *favour*. The expression not only considerably lessens the emotional charge of the original clause but introduces an element of formality that suggests a hierarchical relationship founded on respect rather than intense feelings. Unlike in the previous examples where the translation alters the exact wording of the sonnets in order to accommodate for the differences between the two languages, the phrase *mine be thy love* is rendered in the exact same wording suggesting that the choice of *favour* instead of *love* [láska] was intentional, particularly as both have the same number of syllables in Czech.

The repeated downplaying and transformation of love into other, less emotionally charged expressions help Macek to include these sonnets into the largely heterosexual narrative he imposes on the whole collection, and to create a corpus where the few poems describing the author's platonic affection towards his male friend complement the main body of the poems, dedicated to his romantic feelings to his

female beloved. Further examples of Macek's alteration of *love* and related terms in the Fair Youth sequence can be found in Appendix 4.7.

4.5 CHAPTER REVIEW

The first part of the corpus analysis in this thesis focused on the translation strategies of Miroslav Macek in his 1992 edition of the sonnets. The quantitative part uncovered an unusually high number of female-addressed sonnets within the Fair Youth sequence that are not present either in the original version nor in any of the fourteen remaining Czech and Slovak translations of the collection. This result suggests that Macek uses female pronouns and other feminine markers in order to introduce a female recipient into the first part of the collection's narrative, and this hypothesis was further evaluated and examined within the second part of this chapter. The qualitative analysis shows three main strategies Macek applies in regard to the gender of the addressee or addressees and the underlying narrative within the Fair Youth sequence. The first of these is Macek's repeated decision to translate a number of the sonnets so that they imply a female recipient, which he achieves through the use of feminine nouns, pronouns and other grammatical forms. While the majority of the original sonnets are gender neutral, and it can be argued that Macek is merely choosing one of two viable options as this gender neutrality is difficult to achieve in the Czech language, the analysis in section 4.4.3. clearly shows that some of the sonnets that had originally an unequivocally male recipient are rendered with a female one in Macek's translation. The second approach discernible in Macek's version is to either conceal or alter the remaining sonnets that could suggest a romantic relationship between the author and a male recipient. This occurs both through his avoidance of male markers, like in the example of sonnet 108, or in de-emphasising the romantic element in the male-oriented sonnets through the avoidance of terms related to (romantic) love. The last of Macek's approaches is represented through his repeated use of the noun *milá* that reappears throughout the translation in numerous instances. Besides bringing a female element into the sonnets, the term also strongly suggests a heterosexual, committed relationship between the author and the recipient, and implies that the majority of the sonnets in the Fair Youth sequence are a part of this coherent narrative.

Macek's paratextual comments, as well as the epitextual material available in the form of an interview, show that he is aware of the significance of his changes, but does not consider his approach to be outside of the bounds of the interpretative potential of the sonnets. While there is a possibility that some of these choices were influenced by editorial decisions or publishing norms, Macek's own comments suggest that the gendering of the sonnets and their inclusion into a feminine narrative is part of his own interpretation of the collection. His publicly expressed homophobia might also be perceived as a factor that could contribute to Macek's decision to simply remove the majority of clues that could lead to the reading of the sonnets as a testament of love between two men. Regardless of how Macek himself views the sonnets, his 1992 version shows clear signs of censorship as it considerably alters the interpretative potential of the collection.

The decision to oppose the homoerotic subtext with a heteroerotic narrative is not a new strategy within the history of the sonnets. An English reprint of the collection from an anonymous editor in 1711 ascribes 'all of them in Praise of his Mistress' (Stapleton, 2004:275). Dirk Delabastita finds several French and Dutch cases where 'the translator makes the beloved undergo a sex-change.' (1985:121), amongst others in the highly acclaimed French version from Francois Victor Hugo (1857). Gideon Toury traces similar feminising strategies in Hebrew translations of the sonnets and identifies them as:

> an observant Jew's way of establishing a compromise between his admiration of Shakespeare and his sonnets, reflected in a strong desire – innovative in itself – to introduce them to the Hebrew reader, and the demands of the rigid cultural model laid down by the receptor culture (Toury, 2012:149)

What is however interesting in the light of this work is not so much the presence of censorship in this particular form, but the timing of the publication of such an altered version of the sonnets. Macek's edition appears in 1992, only three years after the Velvet Revolution, as the first translation published within the newly democratic Czechoslovak Republic. Section 1.3.3. described the speed and vigour with which the old publishing procedures, as well as the silence surrounding non-heterosexual population, were removed, leading to unprecedented freedoms that would suggest that

the rigid norms of the target culture to which Toury ascribes the censorial interventions should by this point be removed from the book production. However, if we consider this process through the framework of queer theory, Macek's carefully heteronormatised collection in the wake of the revolution starts making sense. While the regime change effectively removed the political censorship present in the country's publishing since the coup d'état in 1948 and brought an era of unprecedented freedom in newly established private publishing houses, it was also a time when homosexuality became a shockingly new presence in public discourse after decades of widespread silence. These sudden changes brought shifts in the discursive dynamics of the society, resembling the process identified by Foucault when 'the appearance in nineteenth-century psychiatry, jurisprudence, and literature of a whole series of discourses on the species and subspecies of homosexuality, inversion, pederasty, and "psychic hermaphrodism" made possible a strong advance of social controls into this area of "perversity"' (1978:101). In a similar way, the newly gained voices of sexual minorities in democratic Czechoslovakia were followed by a wave of opposition - often represented by the right-wing political spectrum that replaced the previous communist government. Macek, himself a member of a right-wing party and a vocal opponent of same-sex rights, can easily be seen as a representative of this adverse reaction to the sudden visibility of sexual minorities, and his translation with its bold, unapologetic heteronormative narrative in the Fair Youth sequence mirrors these opinions. Further conclusions will be drawn once Macek's translation is positioned into the wider context of other versions of the sonnets in the conclusion of this thesis where comparisons between earlier and later versions of the sonnets will complement the whole picture of the changing strategies surrounding the sonnets in the Czech Republic and Slovakia.

5 CORPUS ANALYSIS – JIŘÍ JOSEK

If Miroslav Macek's translation in the previous chapter stands out through its deliberate decisions to render some of the gender-neutral sonnets in the Fair Youth sequence as decidedly female, Jiří Josek applies a wholly different approach in order to remove the possibility to read the sonnets as a collection of love poems written from a man to another man. His translation systematically removes those elements that could suggest to the reader that the recipient of the Fair Youth sequence could be male, which, as will be seen from the qualitative analysis section in this chapter, is a considerably difficult task in Czech translation.

5.1 TRANSLATOR'S PROFILE

Jiří Josek is a Czech academic, translator and publisher born in 1950. His professional career during the communist period was connected with Czechoslovakia's largest publishing house SNKLU[28], where he worked as an editor between the years 1975 and 1991. Shortly after the Velvet Revolution, Josek started teaching at the Institute of Translation Studies at Charles University in Prague, where he occupied the post of a professor from 2007 until his retirement in 2011, and taught a number of theoretical and practical subjects within the field of translation studies (UTRL FF UK, 2010).

Josek's prolific translation career, which is centred primarily around Anglophone authors, started in the 1970s with translations of William Saroyan and Jack Kerouac (Jirijosek, 2013), but he is currently best known for his translations of Shakespeare's work. Like his fellow academic Martin Hilský who will be introduced in Chapter 8, Josek undertook the enormous task of translating the entire corpus of Shakespeare's work, and, at the time of writing this thesis, he has published thirty translations of Shakespeare's plays (Romeo, 2013). All of these were published in Josek's own publishing house *Romeo*, which was established in 1999 and focuses primarily on the publication of classics of world literature translated by Josek as well

[28] *Státní nakladatelství krásné literatury, hudby a umění* (SNKLHU) [State publishing house of *belles-lettres*, music and art], renamed to SNKLU in 1961 and to *Odeon* after the Velvet Revolution, as it is known to this day.

as a few other translators. All his translations of the plays are published in bilingual format, and the website provides special offers for schools, suggesting that Josek intended his versions to be included in the educational curriculum. It is also worth mentioning that Josek recently translated Oscar Wilde's short story *The Portrait of Mr W. H.* (2008), which played an important role in the history of interpretations of the sonnets as mentioned in section 1.1.

Josek's translations were acknowledged by several prestigious awards, amongst others the *Josef Jungmann Award for best Czech Translations* in the year 1999 for his translation of *Hamlet*, and the *Association of Translators and Interpreters Award* for his translation of Tom Stoppard's play *Rosencrantz and Guildenstern are Dead* in 2004. Aside from translating and editing, Josek also directed a number of Shakespeare's plays for various Czech theatres (Jirijosek, 2013). Interestingly, at the time of writing this thesis, all Shakespeare's plays in the repertoire of Czech Republic's National Theatre in Prague are based on Josek's translations (Národní Divadlo, 2017), despite the fact that several other Czech translations are also available.

5.2 JOSEK'S SONNETS

Josek's version of the sonnets was published in 2008 as the 29th publication of the publishing house *Romeo*. Like the plays, the sonnets are published as a bilingual edition, with the English original on the right side of each page mirroring the Czech version on the left. The collection also includes the narrative poem *A Lover's Complaint* translated as *Milenčin nářek*, following the original quarto edition of the sonnets. The most prominent paratextual features of the volume are a preface, glossary and afterword, all written by Josek.

The preface describes the circumstances under which the sonnets were published, including the theory that 'the scandalous content of the book with hints of homosexual or other amorally perceived relationships' (p.5) might have been one of the reasons why the sonnets were not republished within Shakespeare's lifetime. Josek then continues with an overview of the reception history of the sonnets, focusing chiefly on John Benson's edition (1649), Edmond Malone's version that first identifies one of the recipients of the sonnets as being male (1790), and Kerrigan New Penguin edition (1986) that is presented as the first modern critical commentary of the

collection (Josek, 2008:5-6). The last part of the brief preface is dedicated to an overview of the themes that appear in the sonnets, and it is here that we receive a first impression of the type of interpretation Josek aims to present to his readers:

> If we want to, we can read the Sonnets as a story of a poet in love with his younger, perhaps noble-born friend and at the same time with a certain 'dark lady' [...]. But to limit ourselves to this story while reading the collection would mean an immense deprivation. Only in the smallest number of the love sonnets in the part dedicated to the friend does the author reveal the gender of the addressee. The majority of the sonnets conceal the gender and play out only within the relationship between 'me' and 'you'. Rather than this barely identifiable, scorned and glorified beloved person, the main character of the sonnets is the poet himself and his aggravated heart, but who talks to us with an intimately known voice about our passions, our doubts, our self-love and self-deprecation. (p.7)

The first significant point in Josek's summary of the sonnets' themes is his emphasis on the comparatively small number of poems dedicated to a male recipient. Out of the corpus of fifteen translations, this is the only version that highlights this fact in paratext, and the importance of this step will become apparent through Josek's translation strategies analysed in this chapter. Another important factor is Josek's claim about the true theme of the sonnets which decidedly focuses on the author and his emotions instead of the recipient of these feelings, which is further reiterated in the last line of the preface:

> Shakespeare's sonnets is a book about love in all its forms. It does not matter too much whether it is legitimate or illegitimate love, hetero-, homo- or bisexual, tragic or comical, spiritual or physical. The important part is what love does to a person, how each of us experiences it. Shakespeare managed to express this whirlwind of emotions in a way that is truly extraordinary. (p.7)

Josek strongly emphasises the universality of the love described in the sonnets, centred around the persona of the author as opposed to the possible addressee or addressees, and declares that reducing the sonnets to questions about the gender and sexuality of their protagonists would be a slight to the greatness of his poetry. The strategy of

positioning love into the centre of the sonnets where it transcends any connections with its original recipient appears frequently amongst the critical reception of the collection, and can be found for example in a recent academic edition of the sonnets edited by Carl D. Atkins, where he suggests that:

> we may leave concerns about Shakespeare's sexual orientation behind and take from *The Sonnets* what is universal to all loving relationships, heterosexual, homosexual, or passionate friendship, namely, true love. (2007:15, emphasis in original)

Another similar line of thinking can be found in the poet W. H. Auden's preface to the sonnets for the Signet Classic edition (1964). Auden identifies a 'Vision of Eros' in the poems but he declares that he does not think 'it makes any sense to apply to it terms like heterosexual or homosexual'. Sinfield (2007:19) considers this to be Auden's attempt to conceal notions of 'any notably queer impulsion' within the sonnets' themes, and possibly similar reasons will be identifiable in Josek's translation once this preface is combined with the quantitative and qualitative analysis of his translation strategies below.

The glossary and notes on individual poems can be found at the end of the volume; there are no references to these within the text of the sonnets themselves. The glossary is clearly designed for readers of the original English version of the sonnets as it offers explanations of some of the more ambiguous terms[29]. The *Notes* section is intended for the reader of the translated sonnets and offers first an overview of the general themes that can be found in the collection, and then continues with short comments on some of the individual sonnets. These range from an identification of some of the keywords reappearing in the sonnets within their original Elizabethan and Jacobean context[30], to notes on the interpretative possibilities of individual sonnets that often represent Josek's own opinion. A highly interesting comment is added to

[29] E.g. for sonnet 1: '1/ 1. **creatures**: created things of every kind; **increase**: fruit. 4. **tender**: youthful.', p.190, emphasis and text in English in original.
[30] E.g. a comment on sonnet 1: '1/2 **rose**: Within Elizabethan poetry, the rose represents a conventional symbol of beauty and love. The expression "beauty's rose" therefore signifies its material and symbolic meaning, concrete and abstract', p.207, emphasis in original.

sonnet 20, perhaps the most controversial poem from the collection (for a full description, see sections 4.4.4. and 7.4.2.).

> 20/ 12. **one thing**: The sonnet is [the author's] open declaration of admiration for a man while also, according to some commentators, distancing himself from homosexual orientation at the same time. Perhaps this sonnet could be understood as a guide on how to look at the not always unambiguous sexuality of the sonnets. More important than the object of love is namely love itself. (p.209)

As in the preface, Josek firmly leads the reader's attention away from the homoerotic and towards the generalised and transcendental. It is also interesting to note that Josek does not acknowledge the fact that a number of commentators consider this sonnet to be a direct admission of the author's homoerotic attraction to the male recipient (Paterson, 2010:60-61), as he instead chooses the much more neutral verb *obdiv* [admiration]. Josek's paratextual comments in the *Notes* section complement his translation strategy of the sonnets themselves, and further examples will be included in the qualitative analysis below.

Another factor that needs to be commented upon at this stage is the fact that the sonnets are printed in a bilingual version, as are translations from Urbánková, Pinkava and Saudek. While this side by side comparison could be seen as a possibility for the readers to compare the original with the translation and a way to make any translation choices and alterations transparent in the eye of the target audience, this is highly unlikely due to the sonnets' complicated language. While English is a compulsory subject at most educational institutions in the Czech Republic and Slovakia since the Velvet Revolution, and a great number of especially young people with access to internet and international travel have a better level of English than any time before in both countries' history, Shakespeare's works in their original form are still almost wholly inaccessible without some form of training in Elizabethan/Jacobean language, as I can attest from my own first encounter with the sonnets. Given the fact that Shakespeare's work is not such a significant part of the curriculum in Czech and Slovak education as it is in many anglophone countries, very few readers would be able to understand the sonnets without the aid of the translations.

5.3 QUANTITATIVE CORPUS ANALYSIS

As indicated in the paratextual analysis, Josek is keen to emphasise to his readers in the preface of his collection the small number of sonnets dedicated to a male recipient within the first 126 poems of the corpus. The result of the quantitative analysis offers a highly intriguing insight into how this emphasis reflects onto Josek's own translation strategy:

	Shakespeare	**Josek**
M	12	8
F	0	0
-	95	99
B	2	2

The first important information that can be gained from this table is the remarkably small number of sonnets dedicated to a male recipient when compared with the rest of the corpus. Josek's translation has the smallest number of clearly male-addressed sonnets amongst all fifteen translators, as well as the highest number of neutral sonnets (see Appendix 2 and 3). The second striking difference is the fact that Josek includes a fewer number of male-addressed sonnets than Shakespeare himself, suggesting that Josek's translation strategies extend beyond an attempt to replicate the gender ratio in the original sonnet collection as faithfully as possible. As was explained previously, the relatively high number of gender-neutral sonnets in English is partly due to the fact that English is a largely gender-neutral language, whereas Czech and Slovak have three clearly defined grammatical genders. Both languages are also fusional, which means that nouns, verbs, pronouns and adjectives inflect for number, case, tense and other linguistic variations. Due to this, the translation of a gender-neutral text from English into a gender-neutral form in Czech or Slovak is a highly difficult undertaking, which usually leads to significant changes of the original corpus. The following qualitative analysis of Josek's translation will map the strategies he applies in order to achieve this within his version of the sonnet collection, using

elements from the quantitative analysis in order to contextualise these decisions within the corpus of fifteen translations.

5.4 QUALITATIVE CORPUS ANALYSIS

5.4.1 GENDERED NOUNS

As was already explained in section 1.5., gender plays a significantly smaller role in the English language than in Czech and Slovak. Both are strongly gendered languages with all nouns belonging in one of three categories; masculine, feminine or neuter. It is therefore not possible to retain the same gender ambiguity that Shakespeare achieves with the use of nouns like *friend* or *lover*, as these necessarily force the translators to make a decision about the gender of the person referred to. The noun *friend* is perhaps the best example of this difference between the source and target languages and particularly so in the case of Josek's translation. As established, the Czech language does not have a gender-neutral form for *friend*, and a literal translation has to choose between the feminine form *přítelkyně* or the masculine form *přítel*. In the original collection, *friend* is used six times in reference to the recipient of the poems (sonnets 30, 42, 50, 104, 110 and 111), and the following section will analyse four of these examples[31].

The first such instance occurs in sonnet 30, where the author recalls memories of past misfortunes, sorrows and people lost to the passage of time with the help of several legal and financial metaphors (Duncan-Jones, 1997:170). The couplet turns the tone of the sonnet towards optimism and hope through the person of the beloved: *But if the while I think on thee, dear friend, | All losses are restor'd and sorrows end* (l.13-14). Atkins points out that this is the first use of the expression *dear friend* in the collection, and that the sonnet's 'sentiment is one of deep feelings, not high artifice, nor superficial ardor' (2007:96). Josek's rendering of line 13 is as follows:

S.30/13, p.39

But if the while I think on thee, **dear friend**,

[31] Sonnet 42 is excluded as it has both a male and a female addressee, and sonnet 110 will be analysed in section 5.5.5. of this chapter.

*stačí, když vzpomenu si, **že tě mám**,*

[it is enough when I remember **that I have you**]

With a slight alteration of the theme of the sonnet into a direct address (*that I have you*) instead of Shakespeare's address to the *dear friend*, Josek is able to avoid the use of a gendered form for *friend* and retain the neutrality of the sonnet. To bring this strategy into a broader context, out of the 14 versions in this corpus, six retain the masculine variation of the noun friend (*priateľ/přítel* - Blaho, Vrchlický, Sedlačková, Hron, Urbánková, Hron, Pinkava), two exchange this for the masculine noun *druh* (partner, comrade, lover – Klášterský, Feldek), one uses the word *my (m.)dear* (Vladislav), and one the likewise masculine noun *tešitel* (person who offers comfort and/or pleasure – Saudek). It might also be argued that the expression *že tě mám* [that I have you] is more emotionally charged than *dear friend* in the original version of the sonnet, and lends itself more to a homoerotic interpretation of the poem. Josek's translation strategy however does not aim to shift the sonnets to the realm of friendship and platonic love as is the case of Urbánková in Chapter 6, but to nearly completely remove the masculine element from the Fair Youth sequence. It is then highly likely that under the typical heteronormative structures still present in the Czech Republic and Slovakia, the reader will presume these poems were written by a man for a woman, and the emphasis on the romantic affection in the sonnets, as is the case in number 30, helps to enhance this narrative.

The second sonnet using the noun *friend* to refer to its recipient is number 50, which, together with the following sonnet 51, explores the theme of separation from the beloved imposed through a journey that the author has to undertake. Sonnet 50 describes the reluctance and cheerlessness of such solitary travels (*My grief lies onward, and my joy behind*, l.14), and invokes the image of the author complaining about his plight while travelling on horseback (*The beast that bears me, tired with my woe*, l.5). The person from whom the author is being separated is revealed in line 4:

S.50/4, p.59

'Thus far the miles are measured from thy **friend**!'

*„Jak velice **jsme si** teď vzdáleni!"*

['How far away **from each other** we now are!']

Instead of the rhetorical lament of the author where he seemingly talks to himself about his misfortunes, Josek addresses this line to the beloved in the second person and is thus able to conceal the gender of the one whose absence saddens the author. Josek's commentary on this sonnet in the paratextual notes to individual poems is likewise interesting, as he describes the poem as 'The feelings of the poet, who is putting distance between himself and the *beloved person*' (p.211, my emphasis). The *beloved person* [milovaná osoba] likewise conceals the gender of the recipient and allows the reader to imagine either a male or a female beloved under this expression. Only three other translators from the corpus retain the ambiguity of the sonnet, with the rest of them assigning a gender to the addressee (with the exception of Miroslav Macek, all of them male).

The third use of *friend* occurs in sonnet 104, which develops a conventional theme of the passage of time and starts with a reassurance of the recipient that their beauty has not changed through the three years of their mutual acquaintance (*Three April perfumes in three hot Junes burn'd, | Since first I saw you fresh, which yet are green*, l.7-8). The sestet follows with the realisation that time is unstoppable, and the author's eyes might be deceiving him in thinking the beloved unchanged. The addressee of this bittersweet poem is revealed in the first line:

> S.104/1, p.113
> To me, **fair friend**, you never can be old,
> *Tobě se, **lásko**, stáří vyhýbá.*
> You are, **love**, avoided by old age.

While in the previous examples, Josek achieved the concealment of gender by either a rephrasing of the line or a grammatical change, here it is a simple case of substituting the address *fair friend* for a gender-neutral term *love*. Although *love* [láska] as a term of endearment can be used for both male and female recipients, the noun itself is female, making it easier for the readers to assume that this sonnet is written for a female addressee. Josek comments on the gender ambiguity in the English sonnet with the following note in the paratext: 'The original version is "fair friend" which could mean either a fair female or a fair male friend.' (p.214), however, he does not discuss his own decision to substitute this expression with *love* instead. Josek's

choice is particularly interesting when compared with the rest of the corpus; with the exception of Miroslav Macek who renders this poem as being addressed to a woman, all other versions confirm a male recipient.

The last example from the analysed corpus that refers to a friend as the object of affection is sonnet 111. Progressing towards the end of the Fair Youth part of the collection and the subsequent darker themes, this sonnet blames Fortune for giving the author an occupation in a public place 'which public manners breeds' (l.4). Many readers consider this poem a direct reference to Shakespeare's career as a dramatist and possibly actor (Duncan-Jones, 1997:332; Kerrigan, 1986:325). The couplet once again provides a solution through the person of the beloved: *Pity me then, dear friend, and I assure ye, Even that your pity is enough to cure me* (l.13-14). In Josek's translation:

S.111/13, p.121
Pity me then, **dear friend**, and I assure ye,
Slituj se, prosím, slituj, ***nejsladší,***
[Have mercy, please, mercy, **sweetest**,]

The term *dear friend* is in Josek's version replaced with the nominalised, superlative form of the adjective *sladký* [sweet]. The expression retains to a certain degree the intimacy of the sonnet's *dear friend*, but the phrase is again gender ambiguous as it can refer to both a male or a female *sweetest.* Josek does not comment on this change in his paratextual notes, and the comparison with the rest of the translated corpus is again worthy of attention. Out of the fifteen translators, only Josek and Feldek render the sonnet gender ambiguous; the rest assigns a clear gender to the object of the affection, and with the exception of Macek, all a male one.

Aside from the noun *friend*, Josek's translation includes other examples of nouns that were translated from English in a way that conceals their gendered form in Czech. One such case can be found in sonnet 105, which is the only poem where the recipient is referred to with an even more intimate term than friend, *beloved*. In this celebratory sonnet, the author first appeals to his imagined critics to *Let not my love be call'd idolatry* (l.1), and then, somewhat ironically, proceeds to glorify the recipient

‘in threefold terms which recall the Trinity’ (Duncan-Jones, 1997:320). The nominalised form *beloved* appears in the second line of the sonnet:

S.105/2, p.115
Nor **my beloved** as an idol show,
*já **nezbožňuji svaté obrázky**,*
[I do not **adore holy pictures**]

In the same way in which the noun *beloved* in English is a nominalised form of the verb *to love*, so does the Czech language nominalise the verb *milovat* to nouns (f.)*milovaná* or (m.)*milovaný*. By turning the attention from the beloved depicted as an idol towards the author’s generalised admission that he does not adore holy pictures, Josek is able to avoid using this clear gendering form in favour of a neutral-sounding sonnet that could be referring to either a female or a male recipient.

Aside from terms related to intimacy and human relationships like *friend* or *beloved*, the sonnets sometimes refer to the recipient with other terms that have no gender-neutral form in Czech or Slovak. This can be illustrated on sonnet 57, which expresses a complete subservience of the author towards the beloved (*Being your slave what should I do but tend*, l.1), spending his time waiting to be summoned, and deprived of the right to judge how well the beloved spends their time. In line with the tone of the sonnet, the recipient is addressed as *my sovereign* in line 6.

S.57, l.6
Whilst I, my **sovereign**, watch the clock for you,
když**, vrchnosti má**, pro tě marním čas,
[when, my (n.)**ruler**, for you I waste my time]

Josek’s version avoids the more obvious translation of the noun sovereign, which in Czech would be (f.)*vládkyně* or (m.)*vládce*, and uses the term *vrchnost* instead. This expression is most commonly used as a collective noun encompassing the ruling class, noblemen, or, in older contexts, the feudal lords. While it can be used to denote one person, its plural connotation successfully hides the original gender of the recipient (Macek’s variation of this line was mentioned in section 4.4.1.).

5.4.2 VERBS

While English verbs are only inflected for tense and aspect, Czech and Slovak as fusional languages use a complex system of inflections that express case, number, tense, aspect and gender amongst other attributes. As the verbs reflect the gender of the subject they relate to, they unavoidably complicate the process of translation in those instances where the original English text does not elaborate on the gender of this verb object or subject.

Some of the sonnets address the recipient directly in the second person and present tense, which allows the translators to retain the gender ambiguity as the verb inflection is the same for masculine and feminine objects or subjects. However, in those sonnets that refer to past occurrences or in general use past tense in relation to the beloved, the translators have to either decide on the gender of the recipient or alternate the sonnet's structure to hide this indication. This is easily demonstrated in sonnet 34 that accuses the recipient of promising the author good weather only for him to be caught in a storm unprepared. Combined with the imagery from the preceding sonnet 33, it is clear that this is a metaphor for an unspecified betrayal on the side of the beloved. The sonnet opens with the following lines:

S.34/1-2, p.43
Why **didst thou promise** such a beauteous day,
And **make me travel forth** without my cloak,
Věřil jsem ti*, že bude krásný den,*
a vyšel jsem *si jen tak v košili,*
[**I believed you** that it would be a beautiful day
And went out just so in a shirt,]

Josek's shift of the subject from the recipient (why didst *thou*) towards the author (*I* believed you) allows him to omit the two verbs that would otherwise have to indicate the gender of the person who sent the author on this ill-advised journey. This choice is again particularly remarkable when compared with the rest of the corpus, where eleven fellow translators use the relevant verbs in past tense with a clearly masculine declination (see Macek's decision to assign this sonnet to a female recipient

in section 4.4.1.). Further examples of Josek's change of verbs in past tense can be found in Appendix 5.1.

As with past tense, future tense in Czech and Slovak reflects the grammatical gender of the object connected with it. This can be demonstrated on sonnet 48, where the author describes how he secures all of his possessions against thieves whenever departing from his home (*How careful was I when I took my way,* | *Each trifle under truest bars to thrust*, l.1-2), but regrets that his beloved cannot be secured in the same way. The couplet laments the fact that this person could be stolen even from *the gentle closure of my breast* (l.11):

S.48/13, p.57
And even thence **thou wilt be stolen**, I fear,
I tam za tebou může zloděj vlézt.
[Even there a (m.)thief could crawl after you.]

Had Josek used the verb *steal* [ukrást] in its future tense declination, he would have to choose between the feminine *ukradená* and masculine *ukradený* variations. With a change of focus towards the perceived (male) thief, crawling after the beloved directly into the author's chest, this gendering could be avoided, and the sonnet retains its neutrality. Further examples can be found in Appendix 5.2.

The use of modal verbs likewise compels translators from English into Czech or Slovak to decide on the gender of the subject or object they describe. Sonnet 72 refers to the time after the author's death, and requests that the beloved will not lie about the author's virtues should they be asked about them. The final couplet reveals that the author is not proud of his achievements, and the beloved should be neither for loving these unworthy qualities (*For I am shamed by that which I bring forth,* | *And so should you, to love things nothing worth*, l.13-14). The sonnet addresses the beloved in the second person, but as it refers to the hypothetical future after the author's death, the use of conditional is inevitable as we see in line 5.

S.72/5, p. 81
Unless **you would devise** some virtuous lie,
Je sice možné vymyslet si lež
[It might be possible to invent a lie]

The semantically closest translation of 'you would devise' into Czech is '(*ty) by sis vymyslel* (m.)' or '(*ty) by sis vymyslela* (f.), and any other synonym of the verb *vymyslet* with the use of the modal verb in conditional requires the same division between feminine and masculine declinations. One of the solutions of how to omit this gendering is to change the focus of the sentence from a direct address of the beloved into a generalised statement where the verb would naturally assume its form in infinitive which does not reflect the gender of the object. Further examples of Josek's choices of verbs that do not reveal the gender of the recipient can be found in Appendix 5.3.

5.4.3 ADJECTIVES

Like verbs, Czech and Slovak adjectives necessarily reflect the grammatical gender of the noun they refer to. This is particularly prominent in those cases where the adjective directly describes the person of the beloved, revealing whether the author is referring to a man or a woman. A simple example of this can be seen in sonnet 70, where the author assumes that the beloved's bad reputation is caused by their superior beauty (*The ornament of beauty is suspect,* l.3), but concludes that the negative rumours only serve to improve the beloved's worth, as seen in line 5:

S.70/5, p.79
So thou be good, slander doth but approve
Pomluva je vždy spíše ocenění
[Slander is always rather praise]

'So' in this case means 'as long as, provided that' (Booth, 1977:256), however the point of interest for this work is the adjective 'good'. The Czech language offers the choice between a feminine (*dobrá*) masculine (*dobrý*) or neuter (*dobré*) form, which is one of the reasons why twelve translators render this sonnet as having a male recipient. Interestingly, all of the twelve translations include the adjective *dobrý* or its close Czech synonym *hodný* (Uličný, Hodek). Macek uses the female form *hodná*. Only Pinkava and Josek avoid the gendering through the adjective, and in Josek's case again through a generalising statement. Instead of telling the recipient to be good so that the slander directed towards them becomes a positive quality, Josek's sonnet

offers a sentence in infinitive that is supposed to refer to everybody and therefore does not reveal the gender of the recipient. For further examples of similar cases with adjectives, see Appendix 5.4.

5.4.4 PRONOUNS

While Czech and Slovak personal pronouns in singular indicate gender only in the third person just like in English, with *on/ona/ono* being equivalents of *he/she/it*, other types of pronouns including possessive and reflexive differ depending on the gender of the person they refer to.

An interesting example of this can be found in sonnets 36 and 96. Both deal with the theme of tarnished reputation, but, while sonnet 36 suggests separation from the recipient so that the author's faults would not be associated with them, sonnet 96 instead focuses on the recipient's reputation that, albeit questionable, is nonetheless weighed out with their superlative charms. An interesting element connecting these two sonnets is the couplet, which is identical for both poems: *But do not so, I love thee in such sort, | As thou being mine, mine is thy good report* (l.13-14). While some commentators (Atkins, 2007:242; Mowat & Werstine, 2004:328) consider the possibility of an error on the side of the publisher where a missing couplet was replaced with an already existing one, others stress the numerical significance of the sixty sonnets separating the repetition that echo the number of minutes in an hour (Paterson, 2010:274). Kerrigan (1986) also points out that it is 'immediately striking that 36 and 96 end the first and last groups of sonnets critical of the youth' (p.297).

Unlike in the original version, Josek's translation of the two couplets is not identical, which is not an unusual strategy within the corpus of this study. Out of the fifteen versions, seven translators repeat the couplet from sonnet 36 *verbatim* in sonnet 96 (Klášterský, Vladislav, Hron, Hodek, Hilský, Feldek and Uličný), while the rest of the translators use different lines. The interesting point within this context is Josek's translation of the last line of the sonnet.

S.96/14, p.105
But do not so; I love thee in such sort,
As, **thou being mine**, mine is thy good report.
Kroť se! Lpím na tobě. Když pošpiníš

své dobré jméno, mně tím ublížíš.
[Restrain yourself! I cling to you. If you dirty
your own good name, you will hurt me (through that).]

S.36/14, p.45
But do not so; I love thee in such sort,
As, **thou being mine**, mine is thy good report.
Lpím na tobě a očistím tě tím,
že z lásky k tobě sebe pošpiním.
[I cling to you and I will clean you through (the action of)
dirtying myself out of my love for you.]

The possessive pronoun 'mine' has three different gendered forms in Czech: masculine form *můj*, feminine forms *má* or *moje*, and neuter form *mé* or *moje*. Josek's translation avoids using these gendered variants through a rephrasing of the original couplet. While the differences between the two translations can be ascribed to the different themes that the sonnets refer to, it is worth noting that Josek conceals the gender of the person whom the author calls 'mine' in both versions of the couplet. Further examples of Josek's concealment of male pronouns can be found in Appendix 5.5.

The first part of this chapter offered a brief overview of the various strategies Josek applies throughout his translations in order to avoid the gendering of the recipient. They were presented based on the grammatical categories that most frequently compel translators to use gendered markers, however, they represent only a small portion of Josek's approach to these translations. As is clear both from the number of the original sonnets and from the number of male-addressed sonnets in other Czech and Slovak translations, Josek's neutralising strategies are far-reaching and consistent throughout the corpus.

All of the previous examples concerned sonnets that are gender-neutral in their original form and could be interpreted as Josek's attempts to retain the original gender ratio from Shakespeare's version. The following section will analyse a number of sonnets that neutralise an originally undisputedly male recipient.

5.5 OMITTING AN UNEQUIVOCALLY MALE RECIPIENT

As the quantitative analysis of Josek's translation shows, the ratio of male-addressed sonnets in Shakespeare's and Josek's version is twelve to eight, suggesting four sonnets that originally had a male recipient and that are rendered gender-neutral in the translation. If we, however, consider the full quantitative analysis in Appendix 3, it is clear that there are five sonnets that are originally male-addressed and that Josek renders as gender-neutral: numbers 26, 39, 63, 101 and 110. The discrepancy is caused by sonnet 53, which is the only case where Josek renders a gender-neutral sonnet as clearly male-addressed. Similarly to sonnet 20, number 53 describes the recipient as possessing superlative charms traditionally ascribed to both men and women and is translated as male-addressed by all fifteen translators in this corpus. Together with the remaining seven sonnets that are male-addressed in Josek's version, they illustrate that there are still some masculine elements remaining in his translation, but the following section will demonstrate Josek's clear attempts to remove them from five other sonnets in the collection.

5.5.1 SONNET 26

The opening line of this sonnet, *Lord of my love, to whom in vassalage*, both identifies the recipient as being male and sets the scene for this humble poem that proclaims the author's inadequacy in relation to the idolised beloved. The author describes in the following lines how his abilities are insufficient to praise the recipient, and then expresses hope that he will one day be fortunate enough to gain talents that would be worthy of such an enterprise. While the formal wording together with the term of address led some commentators to assume this to be the proof of the aristocratic status of the recipient (Rowse, 1984:55), it also closely resembles expressions commonly found in courtly amorous poetry (Kerrigan, 1986:207) or traditional love letters (Campbell, 1859:125). Josek's translation of this line is as follows:

S.26/1, p.35
Lord of my love, to whom in vassalage
Ty verše píše tvůj oddaný vazal,
[Those verses are written by your devoted vassal]

With a strategy resembling the already mentioned examples above, Josek takes the focus of the poem from the recipient and instead centres the first line around the person of the author. The change is particularly interesting when juxtaposed with the remaining fourteen translators, who render *lord of my love* literally with little to no variation, as can be seen in sections 8.1.2. and 8.2.2. As Josek removes the only indicator of a male recipient from the sonnet, he renders the poem gender-neutral and opens up the possibility for an interpretation where the sonnet is addressed to an aristocratic lady. Another interesting detail is Josek's paratextual comment to this poem:

> The address 'Lord of my love' indicates here the male gender of the recipient. The poem however rather than an amorous one sounds like a humble dedication of an unworthy poet to his aristocratic mercenary written in a somehow ironic tone. The translation conceals the gender. (p.210)

As the critical commentary from Shakespearean scholars suggests, the poem can be read both as a formal address to an aristocratic recipient as well as amorous verse of a man deeply in love with an unattainably perfect object of affection. Josek's paratextual comment suggests that the correct interpretation is the former one. While Josek clearly admits to the concealment of gender in his paratextual commentary, it is important to point out that this is placed at the very back of the collection and is not immediately visible or referenced in the text of the sonnets. While readers interested in the minute detail of the poem have the choice to find this information, not all readers of poetry appreciate footnotes and other explanatory apparatus as part of their reading experience and it is highly likely that these notes will be overlooked by the majority of them.

5.5.2 SONNET 39

Continuing with a theme established in the previous sonnets 35-37, sonnet 39 develops the claim that the author and his beloved are one (l.2 *thou art all the better part of me*), but then suggests separation in order to prevent this *oneness* from overshadowing the qualities of the recipient (*That by this separation I may give | That due to thee which thou deserv'st alone*, l.7-8) The sestet then leaves the direct second

person address of the recipient and turns to an anthropomorphised Absence instead, stressing how separation strengthens the aforementioned oneness. This is expressed in the final couplet that reveals the gender of the poet's other half through the use of a male pronoun. Josek renders this section in the following way:

> S.39/13-14, p. 49
> And that thou teachest how to make one twain,
> By praising **him** here who doth hence remain.
> *O samotě **svou lásku** mohu chválit*
> ***a tak s ní být**, i když je kdesi v dáli.*
> [Alone I am allowed to praise **my love**
> **And so be with it(her)**, even when it is somewhere far away]

Josek's insertion of *my love* into the sonnet allows him to not only conceal the third person *him* that in the original version indicates a male recipient but also allows him to refer to *love* [láska] in the final line with a female pronoun as this noun is feminine in the Czech language. While this term of endearment could theoretically refer to a male or a female recipient, the female pronoun strongly suggests to the reader that the recipient is female, particularly as there are no male-addressed sonnets past number 20 in this translation. This strategy is particularly interesting when compared with Macek's similarly consistent changes to the sonnet that render it female-addressed instead (section 4.4.3.) Josek again admits to this change in the paratextual notes to this chapter: 'The original version reveals the male gender of the addressee; the translation conceals it' (p.211).

5.5.3 SONNET 63

A highly elaborate case of gender concealment can be found in sonnet 63, which uses the frequently repeated motive of the unrelenting passage of time. As mentioned in section 4.4.3., the sonnet becomes particularly interesting within the context of this work as it includes six masculine pronouns relating to the recipient, as well as one male marker in the form of the noun *king*. As Josek's translation had to avoid all of these in his aim to turn this sonnet into a gender-neutral one, it is worth

quoting the poem in full. His translation can be divided into three sections based on the abstract concepts he is addressing.

S.63/1-4, p.73
Against my love shall be as I am now,
With Time's injurious hand crush'd and o'erworn;
When hours have drain'd **his** blood and fill'd **his** brow
With lines and wrinkles; when **his** youthful morn
*Až **moji lásku**, moje druhé já,*
čas krutě poznamená jako mě,
*vezme **jí** barvu z lící, načárá*
na čelo rýhy, stříbro na skráně.
[As **my love**, my second self,
time cruelly marks as it did me,
takes the colour from **her** cheeks, scribbles
lines on the forehead, silver on temples.]

The first quatrain of the sonnet uses the opening address '*my love'*, translated into Czech literally as *moji lásku*. This allows Josek to refer to the ungendered recipient with the female personal pronoun *ji* [her] in line 3, using the feminine grammatical gender of the noun *láska*.

l.5-8
Hath travell'd on to age's steepy night;
And all those beauties whereof now **he's king**
Are vanishing, or vanished out of sight,
Stealing away the treasure of **his** spring;
Až úsvit mládí pohltí tma stáří
a květy krásy, jimiž oplývá,
***mu povadnou** a opadají z tváří,*
mrtvolně sinalých už zaživa,
[As the dawn of youth will be swallowed by the darkness of old age
and the blooms of beauty, with which (he/she) is filled

will wilt (in him) and fall from (his/her) face,
deadly ashen already in life,]

Even though the original sonnet continues to refer to the beloved in third person without any further epithets while also calling him *the king of beauties*, Josek instead chooses to use another metaphor for the beloved with the word *úsvit* [dawn], which is a masculine noun in Czech. This allows Josek to refer to the recipient of the poem with a male inflection of the reflexive pronoun wilt [*mu povadnou*] without revealing the gender of the recipient, as this 'dawn of youth' could refer to both a male or a female person. This part also shows the most marked semantical changes between the original version and the translation and demonstrates the necessary shifts in meaning caused by Josek's prioritisation of de-gendering of the poems.

l.9-14
For such a time do I now fortify
Against confounding age's cruel knife,
That **he** shall never cut from memory
My sweet love's beauty, though my lover's life:
His beauty shall in these black lines be seen,
And they shall live, and **he** in them still green.
já budu připravený odrazit
ničivé útoky čepele času,
aby mi nemohl z paměti vzít
***mou sladkou lásku**, svrchovanou krásu.*
*Do těchto černých linek **ukryju ji,***
*ať zůstane, jak si **ji** pamatuji.*
[I will be ready to parry
the destructive attacks of time's blade
so that he [time] won't be able to take from my memory
my sweet love, the ultimate beauty.
Into these black lines I will **hide her**
so that (it) stays, as I remember **her**.]

Josek's sestet abandons the subject of dawn and returns instead to addressing the recipient with *love* [láska] and *beauty* [krása], both of which are feminine nouns in Czech. Due to this, the final couplet can again use female pronouns without revealing the gender of the recipient. It is particularly the change of pronouns throughout the sonnets as the recipient is called *love*, *dawn* and again *love* or *beauty* that makes the reader aware of the gender-ambiguity of the translation, however, given the number of male pronouns appearing in the original text, it is difficult to perceive this as anything other than a conscious and doubtlessly skilful measure to remove the masculine recipient from the text. Josek comments on this particular translation in the paratext with the following note: 'The original reveals the gender of the recipient. The translation is more ambivalent than the original'. It is interesting to note that even this paratextual note does not explicitly confirm that the recipient is male, despite the indisputable text of the original.

5.5.4 SONNET 101

The author accuses his Muse of not giving him inspiration for his poetry on the imagined pretext that the beloved is too perfect for description (*Because he needs no praise, wilt thou be dumb?* l.9) and then repeats his appeal to immortalise the beloved despite these obstacles. The poem is particularly interesting as the beloved is referred to with male pronouns in four instances, making this sonnet exceptionally difficult to render gender-neutral. As described in section 4.4.3, it was subject to censorship already in Benson's 1640 edition. It is probable that as an esteemed Shakespearean scholar translating at a time when a wealth of research on Renaissance England was available to professors at Czech universities, Josek was aware of Benson's variation. His own translation likewise conceals the gender of the recipient while avoiding Benson's inconsistency:

S.101/9-14, p.111
Because **he** needs no praise, wilt thou be dumb?
Excuse not silence so, for't lies in thee
To make **him** much outlive a gilded tomb
And to be prais'd of ages yet to be.
Then do thy office, Muse; I teach thee how

To make **him** seem long hence as **he** shows now.
Neomlouvej své odmlčení tím,
že ryzí zlato se už nezlatí,
dík tobě může vstoupit do dějin,
dík tobě může přežít staletí.
Dělej, co umíš, já tě naučím,
jak dnešek ukázat dnům budoucím.
[Do not excuse your silence with [the argument],
That pure gold is not to be gilded,
Thanks to you **(he/she/it)** can enter history,
Thanks to you **(he/she/it)** can outlive centuries.
Do what you can, I will teach you,
How to show today to future days.]

The translation uses a number of strategies to avoid male pronouns and their range deserves closer attention. Line 9 omits the subject of the author's dialogue with the muse and substitutes *he needs no praise* for the neutral reference to *silence* [*odmlčení*, lit. a pause in speech]. The second instance in line 11 utilises the fact that the Czech language can omit personal pronouns from sentences, and that the declined form of both the modal verb and the verb itself in the third person do not change depending on gender (*může vstoupit*, can enter). The final line of the couplet changes the element that should be kept by the muse for posterity from the beloved to the currently occurring and presumably happy shared days instead (*dnešek*, today). With such a wide variety of changes that all result in the concealment of the gender of the recipient, there can be little doubt that this strategy was intentional, which is supported, once again, by Josek's own comment on the poem: 'Sonnet 101 talks about the beloved person in the third person masculine. The translation conceals this gender' (p.214).

5.5.5 SONNET 110

The last example of Josek's gender concealment can be found in sonnet 110, an apologetic poem in which the author admits that his attention strayed from the beloved, but claims in the sestet that this only served to strengthen his affection for the

addressee. As Kerrigan points out, it is the first sonnet where the author admits to his own betrayal, as opposed to previous frequent accusations of the beloved (1986:323). The point of interest here is the author's address of this beloved in line 12 as *god in love*, which elicited a surprising number of different definitions; 'one god-like in capacity for love; a god who is *in love*; one made a god in the transaction of love' (Duncan-Jones, 1997:330, emphasis in original), 'Who is a god, as far as my love is concerned' (Ingram & Redpath, 1978:255), 'who is godlike with respect to, as regards, love (with a flattering suggestion of *in love* meaning "infatuated"), "who resembles one of the classical gods engaged in a love affair with a mortal"' (Booth, 1977:357), or, 'the very deity of Love itself' (Blakemore Evans, 1996:221). While some commentators consider this sonnet to be gender-neutral in its original version (Nelles, 2009:133), this work considers it to be male-addressed due to the fact that the English language has a female variation *goddess*, and this term of address is therefore not gender neutral in the same way as *friend*, *lover*, or *beloved*. Both the Czech and Slovak language have a gendered variation for goddess/god (*bohyňa/boh* in Slovak, *bohyně/bůh* in Czech), and thirteen out of the fifteen translators in this corpus translate Shakespeare's expression 'god in love' with a variation of *boh/bůh lásky* [god of love]. While Anna Sedlačková's 1987 version omits the exact expression, her sonnet 110 is still unequivocally addressed to a male recipient and the expression is replaced by another divine metaphor in line 13 ('*ty moje druhé nebo'* [you, my second heaven], p.126.) Jiří Josek is the only translator who both removes the expression from his translation and renders the sonnet gender-neutral.

S.110/11-12
A god in love, to whom I am confin'd.
*ty **mojí modlou** teď a navždy buď.*
Be **my idol**, now and forever.]

The word *modla* as a nominalised form of the verb *to pray* [*modlit se*] is primarily connected with the biblical meaning of a blasphemous image or statue of a typically non-monotheistic god. While this translation retains the original connotation of the sonnet, as the lowercase 'god' points towards a similar interpretation, it nonetheless renders the personified and decidedly male 'god in love' into an object

that also happens to be feminine in gender. Josek's paratextual commentary does not refer to this particular case of gender neutralisation.

5.6 CHAPTER REVIEW

This chapter provided an analysis of Jiří Josek's 2008 translation of the Sonnet collection, published in his own publishing house *Romeo*. The quantitative analysis highlighted a comparatively high number of sonnets dedicated to a non-gendered recipient (99 out of 109), as well as a small portion of sonnets with a clearly male addressee (8 out of 109). This is remarkable both in comparison with the rest of the translated corpus that will be presented in the last part of the analysis in Chapter 8, and when juxtaposed with the original version that has twelve sonnets with a male recipient. This result suggests that Josek's translation frequently avoided gendering the sonnets in the Fair Youth sequence, and this hypothesis was then further investigated through a qualitative analysis. The second step consisted of a close semantical comparison of the English and Czech versions, supported with paratextual features from Josek's edition and further contextualised through direct comparisons with the rest of the corpus. This analysis first maps a number of different strategies Josek applies to his sonnets in order to avoid the use of gendered nouns or grammatical declinations of verbs, adjectives and pronouns that would reveal the gender of the recipient. While it can be argued that this was done with the aim of retaining the original ambiguity of the sonnets in their English version, the second part of the analysis shows that Josek goes beyond this perceived faithfulness in rendering sonnets that are openly male-addressed in the original as being gender-neutral in Czech. This was in some cases, as in the example of sonnet 63, achieved through considerable changes to the themes and content of the original sonnet, and are systematic enough to assume that they are the result of a conscious strategy on the part of the translator.

Josek's approach to the text of the sonnets aligns with his paratextual comments in his preface and his notes to the collection, where he repeatedly emphasises that the focus of the sonnets should not be the elusive recipient or recipients of the poems, but instead the author's emotions that Josek considers universal and applicable to experiences all humans are familiar with. While Josek admits to the possibility that the sonnets might be interpreted as having homoerotic

elements, he considers this to be an irrelevant question that only detracts from the true worth of the sonnets. This line of reasoning closely resembles a quote from Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick's book *Epistemology of the Closet* (1990), mentioned in section 2.4. of the theoretical background chapter. In her analysis of the critical approaches to the subject of same-sex desire, she identifies a number of strategies applied by scholars in order to remove this topic from the field of discussions, amongst others the following approach:

> The author's important attachments may very well have been homosexual — but it would be provincial to let so insignificant a fact make any difference at all to our understanding of any serious project of life, writing, or thought. (p.53)

Josek's paratextual apparatus, repeatedly stressing the insignificance of either the homoerotic subtext or the person of the male beloved, could easily be seen as one of these critical commentaries described by Sedgwick. However, her commentary pertains primarily to critical commentaries that exist outside of the text in question, in the form of academic articles, critical receptions or indeed paratextual comments. Despite the fact that *Epistemology of the Closet* later discusses texts from authors who did not write in English, Sedgwick does not take into account the process of translation as another factor that can shift a readerly perception and suggest that any allusions to same-sex affection are insignificant in the favour of the supposedly higher and purer *Love* as a general concept. As Josek's example shows, this strategy not only proposes to the reader that the theme of the sonnets is not centred around homoerotic affection but further confirms this reading with his translation strategies that successfully diminish the possibility for such an interpretation on a textual level. In English editing, a similar effect could only be achieved through a reorganisation and selection of those sonnets that avoid the gendering of the recipient, as happened for example in the *Golden Treasury* edition by Francis Palgrave (1890). Through carefully choosing and reordering only those sonnets that refer to love without any clear indication of the recipient towards whom they are addressed, Palgrave was able to 'invite the reader to project his or her own sexuality onto the poems' (Smith, 2007:20). Josek's version invites and allows the readers to do the same in his significantly de-gendered translation.

When compared with fellow translators and within the context of the reception history of homoerotic subtext in general, Josek's doubtlessly skilful manipulation of the Fair Youth sequence into a poetry collection with the gender removed in several instances can be considered a form of censorship, particularly as no similar attempts were undertaken in the following Dark Lady sequence. Considering the fact that Josek is the sole author of the translation as well as of all the paratextual material, and above all, that his sonnets were published in his own publishing house, the chance that any editorial or other external interventions influenced his decision-making is very small. And while, as with all readings of the sonnets, it can be argued that Josek is merely presenting his own interpretation of the poems, the fact remains that the final interpretative potential of the poetry as a part of a homoerotic literary tradition is severely limited compared to its original version that allows for all types of interpretations. The following chapters will explore further, and in many cases less subtle approaches to the censorship of the sonnets.

6 CORPUS ANALYSIS – JARMILA URBÁNKOVÁ

Jarmila Urbánková's 1997 translation was chosen to represent the third type of strategical approach towards the sonnets that considerably alters the possibility of reading the collection as amorous poetry written from a man to another man. While the previous two examples of Macek and Josek concerned the gender of the recipient in the Fair Youth sequence and the translators aimed to change the gender from male to female or to remove gender indicators from the narrative, Urbánková focuses instead on the relationship between the author and the recipient or recipients, and alters the way in which this can be understood by the readers.

6.1 TRANSLATOR'S PROFILE

Jarmila Urbánková (1911-2000) was a Czech poet, writer and translator. Her professional career after the Second World War included the post of an editor in a literary journal as well as work in the culture department of the national radio station *Československý Rozhlas* [Czechoslovak Radio]. From the 1960s onwards, Urbánková focused solely on her writing, which resulted in eighteen original poetry collections as well as numerous translations. Her poetry has strong lyrical undertones with themes of nature, motherhood and romantic love, but she is also the author of several volumes of children's poetry. In 1976, she was awarded the title *zasloužilá umělkyně* [meritorious artist], which was a prestigious acknowledgement of cultural contributions in former Czechoslovakia. Urbánková's career as a translator was likewise prolific, with several dozen literary translations published within her lifetime. Her primary focus were anglophone authors as that was her specialisation during her university education, and amongst her best-known works are translations of Charlotte Brontë's novel *Villette* (1975) and an anthology of English romantic poetry from Wordsworth, Keats and Shelley (*Tři stálice*, 1974). Aside from English translations, she also worked with German, Bulgarian, Slovenian and Sorbian texts. She was also frequently invited to translate poetic inserts in prose, particularly in translations of fairytales and stories for children. Lastly, she is known for translating Slovak children's books and poems into Czech, as the slight linguistic differences between the two languages are sometimes considered too great for young readers.

6.2 URBÁNKOVÁ'S SONNETS

Jarmila Urbánková's first partial translation of the sonnets was published in 1976 in *Československý Spisovatel* [Czechoslovak Writer] as part of a collaborative work titled *Sonnets/Sonety* prepared for the popular series *Poetry Friends Club* [klub přátel poezie]. Alongside five other translators, Urbánková was invited to complete a translation started by Erik Adolf Saudek but left unfinished due to his early death; she contributed to this collection with 42 sonnets[32]. This translation became the basis for her own complete version of the sonnets published in 1997 in a small, private-owned publishing house *Arca JiMfa,* based in the Czech town of Třebíč. The following analysis is primarily focused on this full translation of the sonnets, but it will point towards some of the editorial changes Urbánková made in comparison with the 1976 edition.

The sonnets are printed in a bilingual version with the English original on the left mirrored on opposite pages by the Czech translation. Urbánková also includes Shakespeare's narrative poem *A Lover's Complaint* [Milenčin Nářek] that is part of the original quarto, likewise printed in a bilingual mirrored version. A unique feature of Urbánková's edition is its almost complete lack of written paratextual features that are present in all the other translations studied in this thesis. The volume includes a stylised picture of Shakespeare's presumed likeness on the first page but is devoid of a preface. The only information outside of the publishing data is a short note on page 3: 'Translated by Jarmila Urbánková. A smaller portion of the Sonnets in the year 1975 for the Poetry Friends Club collection, the rest in the autumn of 1992 and in the spring of 1993'. An afterword is likewise missing, replaced instead by a short profile of the translator that lists all of her poetry collections and translations. There is no commentary accompanying the text of the sonnets themselves or any information about the author, and the dedication from the original quarto edition is likewise missing.

While Urbánková's 1997 translation excludes any paratextual comments on the sonnets, the 1976 collaborative version does have a short afterword which happens

[32] Sonnets 26, 28, 31, 32, 33, 41, 42, 43, 45, 46, 47, 48, 72, 74, 75, 93, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 107, 108, 109, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 124, 125, 126, 128 and 130.

to be written by Urbánková as a representative of all translators that contributed to this version of the sonnets. This afterword comments on the elements of same-sex affection in the following way:

> Surely the least understandable part for today's reader is the fervent celebration of the beautiful young friend, that we would rather ascribe to a woman. […] There is however nowhere a hint of any sick passion – it is only the desire for a strange, unconditional comradeship that every human strives for in the depths of his/her soul, and an artist particularly so. (p.172)

The claim that there is 'nowhere a hint' of homoerotic attraction in the 1976 version and that the love expressed for the recipient in the Fair Youth sequence of the sonnets is a thoroughly universal need for companionship and deep platonic bonds, published during the depths of the normalisation period in socialist Czechoslovakia, will become highly significant once the two versions of the sonnets are juxtaposed in the qualitative analysis.

6.3 QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

The following table represents the quantitative analysis of Urbánková's 1997 translation of the sonnets. There are no changes in the gender of the recipient between her partial 1976 translation and this version, and a full quantitative analysis of the earlier partial version will be included in section 8.1.1. as well as in a detailed form in Appendix 3.

	Shakespeare	**Urbánková**
M	12	53
F	0	0
-	95	54
B	2	2

In marked difference from Josek's previous example, the quantitative analysis of Urbánková's translation does not show any attempts to conceal the masculine gender of the recipient in the 18-126 section of the sonnets, and the comparatively high number of 53 male recipients resembles the work of translators from before the Velvet

Revolution analysed in section 8.1.1. However, as the following part will show, Urbánková's translation contains a number of subtle contextual shifts that result in a change in the interpretative potential of the sonnets that only become apparent through a detailed semantical comparison between the original and translated texts.

6.4 QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

As Urbánková's 1997 version does not include any paratextual features, the only material for a qualitative analysis is the translation of the sonnets themselves. A close textual comparison between the original and the Czech version reveals a number of interesting features related to the subject of same-sex affection in the sonnets, and the most prominent of these features is Urbánková's treatment of those instances when the poems refer to romantic and potentially non-platonic love.

6.4.1 ADDED FRIEND/FRIENDSHIP

Out of these shifts, the most easily noticeable feature is Urbánková's supplication of the words *friend* or *friendship* in instances where they do not occur in the original collection. In order to contextualise this strategy, it is important to reiterate the information from the previous Chapter 5 that Shakespeare uses the word *friend* to refer to the collection's recipient only in six sonnets out of the 109 that are included in this corpus (30, 42, 50, 104, 110 and 111), and twice to refer to himself in relation to the recipient (sonnets 32 and 82). The term *friendship* does not appear at all. In contrast, Urbánková's version uses the term *friend* [přítel] fourteen times to refer to the recipient (sonnets 19, 30, 36, 40, 42, 49, 50, 63, 76, 101, 105, 110, 111), as well as a reference to *friendship* [přátelství] in sonnet 29 and *friendly emotion* [přátelský cit] in sonnet 89. The author is referred to as *friend* in sonnet 82 and as *druh* [comrade, partner] in sonnet 32. This section will look at those cases where *friend* was added to the text by the translator.

A sizeable portion of the sonnets within the Fair Youth sequence refers to the recipient with variations on the noun *love*, either in the second person in a dialogue with the addressee or mentioning them indirectly in the third person. The first such example within the Fair Youth corpus is sonnet 19 that challenges Time to destroy all

conventional symbols of strength (*blunt thou the lion's paws*, l.1) and longevity (*burn the long-liv'd phoenix*, l.4), but in the sestet forbids it to commit the *one most heinous crime* (l.8), i.e. to touch the beauty of the recipient, who is referred to as *my love* twice (lines 10 and 14). As Paterson points out a 'for all the earlier *intimations* of love, this is the first time *my love* is used so unequivocally. […] Previously his feelings could have been read – wilfully read, but read nonetheless – as mere admiration' (2010:59, emphases in original). In Urbánková's translation, these lines are rendered as follows:

S.19/10, p.43
O! carve not with thy hours **my love's** fair brow,
rozbrázdit mramor čela ***přítelova***
[furrow the marble of **friend's** forehead]

l.14
My love shall in my verse ever live young.
v mých básních ***přítel*** *neztratí své mládí.*
[in my poems **friend** will not lose his youth.]

Both instances referring to *my love* are rendered with the word *friend* in Urbánková's translation, resulting in a markedly different interpretation of the original sonnet. While the English version can easily be read as coming from a lover who is facing the possibility that his beloved will not be eternally young, Urbánková's version reads like a distinctly platonic request on behalf of the author's close friend.

Another example of this strategy can be found in sonnet 39, already referenced in section 4.4.2. and 5.5.2. The poem develops the theme of separation (*let us divided live*, l.5) in order to better appreciate the qualities of the recipient. The sestet turns from addressing the beloved towards Absence, pondering on how it brings its own type of pleasure as it gives the opportunity *To entertain the time with thoughts of love* (l.11). However, in Urbánková's version, these thoughts become once again connected with friendship instead.

S.39/11, p.83
To entertain the time with **thoughts of love**,
vzpomínka na přítele*, milé snění*

[**memory of a friend**, dear reverie]

Applying the same strategy introduced in sonnet 19, Urbánková substitutes *love* for *friend*, shifting the theme of the sonnet in a way that limits the possibilities for the poem to be read as a lament about absence between two lovers.

Another similar example can be found in sonnet 76 where the recipient is referred to as *sweet love*. The sonnet starts with a rhetorical question where the author asks why his poetry follows the same patterns without innovation and why he repeats the same themes to the point where they become his hallmark (*That every word doth almost tell my name*, l.7). In the second sestet, he answers himself with the explanation that the subject of the author's poetry is always love for the recipient, and as that is an unchanging entity, the poems do not necessitate variations either (*For as the sun is daily new and old, | So is my love still telling what is told* l.13-14). In Urbánková's translation, the ninth line addressing the recipient directly is as follows:

S.76/9, p.157
O! know **sweet love** I always write of you,
*Jen o tobě, **příteli**, o tobě*
[Only about you, **friend**, about you]

Kerrigan clarifies that while the wording might appear uncertain, 'the poet is here addressing his 'gentle beloved'' (1986:270). Urbánková's decision, as in the previous example, removes the address *sweet love* and replaces it with *friend*, which minimises the possible implication of a romantic relationship. In line with this strategy, the noun *love* disappears from the last line as well, in an approach that will be further analysed in section 6.4.2. of this chapter:

l.14
So is **my love** still telling what is told.
tak den co den slyš moje známá slova.
[so day after day hear my familiar words.]

Sweet love reappears in sonnet 29, a frequently anthologised poem that Blakemore Evans calls the 'the first of the great sonnets' (1996:141). The author begins with a lamentation about his misfortunes and envies other people's connections

and possessions (*Desiring this man's art, and that man's scope | With what I most enjoy contented least*, l.7-8) His thoughts turn in the sestet towards the beloved and the author's spirits lift immediately: *Like to the lark at break of day arising* (l.11). The couplet concludes that the recipient's *sweet love* (l.13) brings such wealth that the author would not exchange his place with a king (l.14). In Urbánková's translation, this relationship undergoes another contextual change:

S.29/13, p/.63
For thy **sweet love** remember'd such wealth brings
*Tvé **přátelství** je tak velikým jměním*
[Your **friendship** is such a large fortune]

Ten out of the fifteen translators in this corpus use the noun *love* or *to love* in the translation of the couplet, with the remaining four using a variation of *thinking of you* (Sedlačková, Hron, Hodek) or *being with you* (Hilský, see Appendix 6.3. for a full list of expressions used in other translations). It is only Urbánková who decides to introduce the element of friendship into the sonnet and shift the interpretative potential from the image of a man soothed by the memory of his beloved that is valued above all worldly and spiritual possessions into the platonic zone of friendship. While it could be argued that 'friend' can in some connotations be used to denote a romantic partner (in the same way as modern-day English uses girlfriend/boyfriend), *friendship* as a nominalised noun has decidedly only platonic connotations.

While the previous examples used the keywords *friend* or *friendship* in order to replace original expressions related to love or potentially interpretable as having a connotation of romantic feelings, the following cases insert these keywords without an apparent counterpart in the English original. Starting with sonnet 36 that develops a previously established theme of guilt and shame, the author suggests that he and the recipient should part ways and not acknowledge each other's acquaintance *Lest my bewailed guilt should do thee shame* (l.10). Booth notes that the first two lines *Let me confess that we two must be twain, | Although our undivided loves are one* references the idea where 'a pair of lovers are "one flesh," an indivisible unit, as well as distinct, separate individuals' (1977:192). He links this to the Biblical sequence from the Ephesians (5:25-33) that references man and woman becoming one flesh and that in

Shakespeare's times was included in a typical marriage ceremony (Booth, 1977:192). Even without this connection, the opening lines of the sonnet strongly suggest the romantic idea of lovers connected so deeply that they become one body and one soul:

S.36/1, p.77
Let me confess that we two must be twain,
***Příteli**, musíme se rozdělit*
[**Friend**, we have to separate]

Urbánková's translation eliminates the possibility of such an interpretation with the first word of the sonnet, where she inserts the noun *friend* to address the recipient of the poem, when the original sonnet does not refer to a friend in any way. It is also interesting to note that the similarity between this concept of one body, one soul between two men links the sonnet with Halperin's pre-homosexual element of male love introduced in section 2.6.(Halperin, 2000), and that will be further explored in the discussion of the results of this analysis.

A similar strategy is apparent in sonnet 49, where the author prepares himself for the possibility that the beloved will stop loving him and begin despising him instead. To this eventuality, the author simply offers a passive understanding as he himself cannot see a reason why he should be loved by the recipient in the first place: *Since why to love I can allege no cause*, l.14. Urbánková translates the third line of this poem as follows:

S.49/3, p.103
When as thy love hath cast his[33] utmost sum,
*Až vyčerpáš svou lásku, **příteli***
[When you exhaust your love, **friend**]

'Cast' in this case can refer to both predicting the future as in 'forecast', and also reject as in 'cast aside' (Booth, 1977:213). Paterson explains the perhaps strange logic of this sonnet as 'The trouble with being loved by someone you worship is that it doesn't make sense, and you can never quite believe it' (2010:144), however the

[33] 'His' in this case refers to the ungendered addressee's love as a feeling, not to the person who feels it (Blakemore Evans, 1996:158).

romantic interpretation possibilities are limited to readers of Urbánková's version which insists on categorising the recipient of the sonnet as the author's friend.

The previous examples identified instances where Urbánková's translation inserts the noun *friend* into the narrative. In the following sonnet, she modifies the type of the relationship between the author and the recipient with the noun *friendship*. Sonnet 88, echoing the previous example of 49, likewise anticipates the time when the recipient will reject the author, but in this case the author offers to side with the recipient (*Upon thy side, against myself I'll fight*, l.3) and confirm his own faults:

S.88/2, p.181
And place my merit in the eye of scorn,
a na mé ***přátelství*** *se dívat křivě*
[and look at my **friendship** wryly]

Urbánková again decides to interpret the relationship between the author and the recipient as one of friendship, which is not mentioned in the original sonnet, nor anywhere in the original collection. For further examples of Urbánková's additions of the keywords *friend* or *friendship*, see Appendix 6.1.

6.4.2 CENSORSHIP OF TERMS RELATED TO ROMANTIC LOVE

Aside from replacing mentions of *love* with *friend* or *friendship*, Urbánková's translation also shows systematic attempts to remove mentions of love altogether or to mellow this expression into a register that better befits the discourse between two friends. Throughout the 18-126 sequence that is used for the corpus of this study, the term *love* appears 82 times. It is used in various contexts: as a term of address for the recipient of the sonnets, a noun denoting a specific emotion, or as a verb describing a relationship. The following examples show Urbánková's strategies to hide or remove these elements from her sonnet translation.

The first category covers those instances where Shakespeare uses 'love' as a term of endearment in sonnets either directly addressing the beloved or referring to them in the third person. An example of such a usage can be found in sonnet 22 that is centred around the theme of an exchange of hearts between lovers. The author first claims that he himself will never be old as long as the beloved is young (*My glass shall*

not persuade me I am old | So long as youth and thou are of one date, l.1-2), and then develops the previously mentioned theme of their mutual interconnectedness that carries on beyond death (*Presume not on thy heart when mine is slain, | Thou gav'st me thine not to give back again*, l.13-14). The recipient of this poem is addressed as *thou*, with the exception of line 9.

S.22/9, p.49
O! therefore **love** be of thyself so wary
A proto, prosím, tak se opatruj,
[And therefore, please, so take care of yourself,]

Kerrigan interprets 'be of thyself so wary' as 'look after yourself' (1986:203). As for the keyword *love*, while the comma after the noun is missing from the quarto and the line might appear confusing, Booth clearly identifies it as 'my love, my beloved', a sense which is 'revealed by the necessities of the completed line' (1977:170). While it could be argued that this noun functions primarily as a metrical and rhythmical 'filler' for Shakespeare to achieve his pentametric lines and therefore it is not critically crucial on the contextual side, a brief comparison with other translators within this corpus shows that the majority of them considered this keyword important enough to include it in their translations. Five of them retain the literal meaning of *lásko/láska* [love] (Saudek, Hodek, Uličný, Feldek, Josek, Pinkava), two opt for the nominalised adjective *drahý* [(m).dear] (Klášterský, Vrchlický) and two for the already discussed noun *milý* [(m.)dear/lover] (Vladislav, Blaho). Urbánková's translation, in contrast, leaves out any mention of love, successfully minimalising the potential romantic connotations present in the poem. A similar approach can be detected in sonnet 82 in the later part of the collection, where the author admits that the recipient is *not married to my Muse* (l.1) and therefore is free to seek praise from other poets that might offer better and more innovative poetry (*Some fresher stamp of the time-bettering days*, l. 8). The following line 9 repeats this appeal to go and pursue other poetic sources:

S.82/9, p.169
And do so, **love**; yet when they have devis'd,
Čti si ty rétorické tirády

[Read (to yourself) those rhetorical tirades]

The couplet closes the sonnet with the warning that other poets' flowery writing is better suited for those who need improvement, unlike the perfection that is the author's beloved (*And their gross painting might be better us'd | Where cheeks need blood; in thee it is abus'd*, l.13-14). Returning to line 9 where 'the pathos of the wish to excuse the straying of the unfaithful young man reaches its most abject note' (Vendler, 1997:365), there are some speculations on whether to understand 'love' as a noun addressing the recipient (Blakemore Evans, 1996:189; Paterson, 2010:235), or whether it is a verb encouraging the recipient to love the aforementioned poetry from other authors (Duncan-Jones, 1997:274). The ambiguity is, as in the previous example, caused by possibly missing commas around *love* in the quarto; however it is clear that Urbánková preferred the interpretation of *love* as a noun addressing the recipient, as her own English version of the sonnet mirroring her translation includes a comma and a semicolon (*And do so, love; yet when*). The exclusion of the term of endearment removes a decidedly romantic element from the sonnet, tipping the scales further towards an interpretation of a close but platonic friendship.

An example of the address *love* used as a noun in vocative case that cannot be interpreted as a verb can be found in sonnet 79. The poem continues with the theme of poetic rivalry, where the recipient is no longer glorified solely by the author (*And my sick Muse doth give an other place*, l.4). The author however warns the recipient that all the praise they will find in poetry from other authors is in the end only due to their own superior qualities and therefore no merit to the poets themselves (*Then thank him not for that which he doth say, | Since what he owes thee, thou thyself dost pay*, l.13-14). While this reasoning might appear a little puzzling, Duncan-Jones likens it to 'the chop-logic of Shakespeare's jesters when they seek to displace rival aspirants to favour' (1997:268). The object of this praise and the recipient of the sonnet is, in this case, addressed directly in line 5:

S.79/5, p.163
I grant, **sweet love**, thy lovely argument
Sám uznávám, že ty si zasloužíš
[I admit myself that you deserve]

In this case, there can be little doubt that 'sweet love' is used as a direct address of the recipient. Urbánková's decision to remove this address from her sonnet translation is highly interesting, in particular when compared with her approach to sonnet 76 where the same wording was replaced with the noun *friend*.

While previous examples focused on *love* used as a noun to denote the recipient of the sonnets, the following poem mentions *love* as a noun denoting an emotion. Sonnet 23 describes how the sheer intensity of the author's feelings is so overpowering that he is rendered speechless (*As an unperfect actor on the stage*, l.1), and as a consequence unable to express his emotions: *So I, for fear of trust, forget to say | The perfect ceremony of love's rite* (l.6). The couplet then implores the recipient to 'read' the expansiveness of the author's love without words (*O! learn to read what silent love hath writ*, l.13). 'Ceremony of love's rite' is easily interpreted by an English reader as the most common religious ceremony connected with romantic love, namely the marriage vows, while Booth points out that 'Shakespeare elsewhere uses "rite of love" specifically to mean "sexual intercourse"' (1977:171). In Urbánková's translation, this expression is rendered in the following way:

S.23/6, p.51
The perfect **ceremony of love's rite**,
*neumím **svůj cit** vyznat bez koktání*
[I cannot express **my feeling** without stuttering]

By rendering the almost sacred-sounding 'ceremony of love's rite' as 'my feeling', Urbánková reduces the intensity of the emotion described by a significant amount as well as completely removes any possible allusions to the bond of marriage rites or intercourse. A comparison across pre-revolutionary translations of this expressions is provided in Appendix 7.9.

Aside from *love* being used as a noun, it also appears in several instances as a verb describing the affection of the author towards the recipient. One of the most prominent instances is the twice-used couplet from sonnets 36 and 96, already mentioned in section 5.4.4. (also see first line of sonnet 36 above). While the tone of the sonnets differs as they are parts of different thematical clusters within the Fair Youth sequence, both deal with the questions of what constitutes a good name and

how the intimate association with another person can influence this image. While sonnet 36 admits that the author's bad name might harm the recipient's and they therefore must go separate ways, sonnet 96 accuses the recipient of blemishing the name of the author. The couplet reminds the addressee in both cases of their connection: *But do not so, I love thee in such sort, |As thou being mine, mine is thy good report* (l.13-14). As referenced in section 5.4.4., some translators decide to follow the original and use the same couplet for both sonnets, while others alter the lines to fit the shifting theme of the two poems; Urbánková's strategy is the latter of the two:

S.36/13, p.77
But do not so, **I love thee in such sort**,
Toho se drž! Jak tomu rozumím:
[Hold onto that! As far as I understand it:]

S.96/13, p.197
But do not so; **I love thee in such sort**,
To nezkoušej, tohle ti zapovídám
[Do not try that, this I forbid you]

While the two lines differ, the unifying factor in both cases is the removal of the verb *love* from the sequence. In addition, as was shown in the previous part of this chapter, Urbánková adds the noun *friend* in her translation of the opening line of sonnet 36, further shifting the sonnet's reading towards the platonic and friendship-based. This is particularly interesting when compared with Josek in the previous chapter. While his approach aims at removing indications of the gender of the recipient, Urbánková clearly denotes that this sonnet is aimed at a male addressee but limits the possible interpretations of the type of emotion described in the sonnet.

Apart from the various usages of the noun or verb 'love', the noun *lover* is also mentioned within the sonnet collection. It appears five times and only once to describe the recipient of the sonnets; however, the author also uses *lover* to describe himself in relation to the recipient in sonnet 32. Here the author imagines the time after his death when the recipient will be left with *These poor rude lines* (l.4) that will long cease to be fashionable. Predicting disappointment, the author requests in the sestet that the

recipient focuses on the emotion expressed in the poetry instead of the outdated style (*Theirs for their style I'll read, his for his love*, l.14). The noun *lover* appears in line 4:

S.32/4, p.
These poor rude lines of **thy deceased lover**,
Číst básně toho, ***kdo tě měl tak rád***
[To read poems of **the one who liked you so much**]

Given the present-day meaning of the term *lover*, this sonnet is one of the most intense sources of readerly controversy. Some commentators claim that within this context, 'lover' meant simply 'friend' (Rowse, 1984:67), while others are open to the possibility that the expression could mean both a platonic as well as a romantic and/or erotic relationship (Blakemore Evans, 1996:144; Booth, 1977:432; Duncan-Jones, 1997:174). Urbánková's decision to translate the epithet *deceased lover* into *one who liked you* retains the general message of the sonnet, however through mellowing the emotional spectrum, it also considerably diminishes the possibility for the poem to be read as a message between two men in a romantic relationship. Her choice is particularly interesting when compared with the translation choices of some pre-revolutionary translators in section 8.1.2.

Another example of Urbánková's use of the much less emotionally charged expression *like* instead of *love* can be found in sonnet 73, which is another poem dealing with the ageing process of the author. He first describes his own existence as nearing the autumnal stage of life (*That time of year thou mayst in me behold | When yellow leaves, or none, or few, do hang*, l.1-2) and his closeness to death that is compared with the recipient's perceived youthfulness. The couplet rounds up the sonnet with the hope that the threat of the author's nearing departure will strengthen the recipient's feeling for him. In Urbánková's translation:

S.73/13-14, p.151
This thou perceiv'st, which makes **thy love** more strong,
To love that well, which thou must leave ere long.
Jistě to vidíš. ***Máš mě tím víc rád,***
Že brzy už mně musíš sbohem dát?
[Surely you see that. **You like me all the more**,

As you will soon have to bid me farewell?]

Urbánková's decision to use *like* instead of *love* in its verbal or nominal form leads to a downgrading of the emotional element in the poem and is further supported through her complete omission of the second noun in line 14. The differences between the two semantic choices translators into Czech have in translating the verb *love* will be discussed in detail in section 8.1.1. and for further examples of Urbánková's replacement of *love* with *like*, see Appendix 6.2.

Urbánková also removes all mentions of love from sonnet 21 that is generally considered to be a criticism of traditional poetry conventions and particularly of Petrarch's sonnets (Duncan-Jones, 1997:152; Ingram & Redpath, 1978:52). The author claims that his Muse does not use the traditional similes of romantic poets like celestial bodies or expensive possessions (*Making a couplement of proud compare.* |*With sun and moon, with earth and sea's rich gems*, l.5-6), and instead stresses the honesty and simplicity of his verse as expressed in lines 9 and 10:

S.21/9-10, p.46
O! let me, **true in love**, but truly write,
And then believe me, **my love** is as fair
Dovolte, abych prostě, ale ***s citem***
po pravdě řekl: „On je krásný sic,
[Allow me to simply, **but with feeling**,
say truthfully: 'He is beautiful, but]

Booth identifies four different meanings of *true in love* – 1. a faithful lover, 2. truly in love, 3. for love's sake, and 4. tell the truth about love (1977:169) None of these meanings carry across through the translation that renders the expression as 'with feeling', considerably lessening the emotional impact of the translation. While the sonnet does explicitly address a male recipient, who is described as beautiful, this expression substitutes another mention of *love* within the poem, rendering it decidedly platonic.

Lastly, an example where Urbánková applies all three of the above-mentioned strategies is sonnet 63, discussed in sections 4.4.3 and 5.5.3. The author imagines the time when the recipient's beauty and youth will be destroyed by the passage of time

but vows to counter this threat with the immortalisation of the recipient in his poetry. While Macek and Josek alter the gender of the recipient to female or unspecified respectively, Urbánková's strategy aims to alter the type of relationship between the author and the recipient, starting already with the opening line:

S.63/1, p.131
Against **my love** shall be as I am now,
*Až **přítel** mého věku dožije*
[When **friend** lives until my (current) age]

This shift is further affirmed at the beginning of the sestet where the second mention of a *friend* is added. In this instance, it does not replace any immediately apparent section of the original sonnet:

l.9
For such a time do I now fortify
*ač neuchráním život **příteli***
[although I will not save the life of (my) **friend**]

Lastly, in line 12, Urbánková removes both the expression *sweet love* and the word *lover* used here to describe the recipient of the sonnet and their relationship with the author:

l.12
My **sweet love's beauty**, though my **lover's** life:
a přenesl ju do budoucích časů:
[and brought it into future times:]

As Josek's and Macek's examples confirm, this particular sonnet requires considerable changes in order to remove the element of same-sex affection from its centre. Urbánková too applies a number of different strategies in order to shift the interpretative potential of the sonnet and integrate it into her narrative of two male but decidedly platonic friends.

6.4.3 EDITORIAL CHANGES BETWEEN SONNET VERSIONS

The last part of this chapter will make use of the fact that Urbánková's 1997 translation of the sonnets was based on an already existing partial translation published in 1976. Urbánková supplied 42 sonnets for this collection, and, with the exception of two sonnets (128 and 130), all of them belong to the Fair Youth sequence. As more than twenty years elapsed between the two versions, it is natural that some of the original translations underwent slight editorial changes in preparation for the second publication, but a closer look at the collections reveals that several of these clearly focus on the potential for a homoerotic reading of the sonnets. These shifts range from small contextual changes to significant interventions into the first translated text, and the following analysis will focus on those that directly concern the relationship between the author and the recipient of the sonnets. The 1976 collection will be denoted with the acronym ES (Erik Saudek), and the 1997 version with Urbánková's initials JU.

One of the subtle differences between the two versions can be found in sonnet 109. The author uses this sonnet to excuse his absence from the recipient, claiming that there is no real separation between the two as their souls are one *(As easy might I from my self depart | As from my soul which in thy breast doth lie:* l.3-4). The point of interest is the first line of the sonnet, where the author is defending himself against the rhetorical accusation:

S.109/1,
O! never say that I was **false of heart,**

In the translation from 1976, Urbánková translates the line as follows:

ES 1976, p.121
*Neříkej, že jsem **nevěrný** ti byl*
[Do not say that I was **unfaithful** to you]

The adjective *nevěrný*, as the negative form of *věrný* [faithful] is used to describe a person who does not keep their word or fulfil their obligations. As in English, this is primarily used to describe the breaking of marriage vows or sexual

faithlessness towards a romantic partner. Moving on to Urbánková's version from 1997, the first line of the sonnet changes in the following way:

JU 1997, p.223
*To neříkej, že jsem **tě oklamal***
[Do not say that I **lied to you**]

Urbánková's updated version removes the adjective *nevěrný* and replaces it with the verb *oklamat* [to lie]. This eliminates the potential interpretation of the sonnet as an attempt to excuse an episode of cheating on the side of the author towards the recipient and instead suggests that the sonnet is dealing with unspecified and generalised dishonesty.

A similar subtle change can be traced in sonnet 122, one of the last poems in the Fair Youth sequence. The sonnet presents a rare instance where we witness the beloved giving a physical gift to the author, in this case *tables* which was a pocket notebook or a memorandum book (Blakemore Evans, 1996:235; Duncan-Jones, 1997:354). The author claims however that his own memory is superior to the written word and will preserve the recipient better than paper that should not be trusted with such a valuable subject. In line 12:

S.122/12
To trust those tables that receive thee more:

Urbánková's translation from 1976 expresses the emotions towards the recipient that are kept in the author's mind in the following way:

ES 1976 p. 134
*památník **vroucí lásky** v **srdci** mám*
[a memory of **ardent love** I have **in (my) heart**]

In a sharp contrast, the 1997 edition:

JU 1997 p. 249
zápisník o tobě v svém nitru mám
[a notebook about you I have inside of me]

In line with a strategy analysed in the previous parts of this chapter, Urbánková removes the mention of *love* from her own edited translation. Together with this decision, she also replaces *heart* [srdce] with a much less emotionally charged *inside* [nitro]. As a result, the poem loses the potentially romantic connotation and is instead firmly anchored in a platonic sphere.

A similar example where a potentially problematic keyword was removed from the later edited version can be found in sonnet 108, where the author places a rhetorical question of whether there is still anything to be said about his adoration for the beloved that was not said already (*What's new to speak, what now to register, | That may express my love, or thy dear merit?* l.3-4). He answers himself that there is indeed nothing new to be said, and yet pledges to repeat the glorified praise of the recipient every day like a prayer. While the theme of the sonnet in itself is not particularly novel within the collection, the sonnet is often mentioned in discourse surrounding same-sex affection in Shakespeare's work as it is one of only two instances where the author directly addresses the recipient as a *boy*:

S.108, l.5
Nothing, **sweet boy**; but yet, like prayers divine,

Given the explicitness of the term, it is unsurprising that this particular line was already subject to censorship in English editions of the sonnets as well as in the translations within this corpus (sections 4.4.3. and 7.4.2.). Urbánková's original version shows no sign of any attempts to conceal or alter this particular expression.

ES 1976, p.119
Nic, nic mi nezůstalo, ***milý hochu****;*
[Nothing, nothing is left to me**, dear boy**;]

The original translation includes the affectionate term *sweet boy*, rendered in Czech as *milý hochu* [dear boy]. While the Czech language also offers the equivalent for sweet [sladký], this is considered archaic if used to describe a person, and only the very first Czech translation from Antonín Klášterský (1923) uses this expression (see sections 8.1.2. and 8.2.2. for a full list of renditions of this phrase). *Dear boy* is, in this case, an equivalent that retains both the intimate tone with the adjective *drahý*, and, more importantly, the clear indication that this sonnet is written for a young man. This

becomes particularly interesting when compared again with Urbánková's later 1997 translation of the same sonnet:

JU 1997, p.221
Nic nezůstalo, ale jak den po dni
[Nothing is left, but like day after day]

In contrast, her revised edition removes both the affectionate term and the noun *boy*, and neither of these reappears anywhere in the sonnet. The potentially problematic mention of a young male addressee whom the author himself calls 'boy' and that could not only be interpreted as a homoerotic relationship but opens doubts about the possible significant age difference between the two lovers was successfully removed from the text.

While the previous examples show slight contextual changes where the shift is caused by an alteration or omission of a word or key phrase, the following examples show a more complex series of intervention into the first translated text. Sonnet 105 opens with the appeal to *Let not my love be call'd idolatry*, and then paradoxically proceeds to glorify the beloved in a way that markedly resembles religious worship, in particular, the Holy Trinity (*Three themes in one, which wondrous scope affords.*, l.12). As mentioned in section 5.4.1., this is one of the few sonnets where the recipient is clearly addressed as *my beloved*:

S.105/2
Nor **my beloved** as an idol show,
ES 1976 p.117
*ani, že idolem je pro mne **milý***
[nor, that an idol is for me **(m.)dear/lover**]

Urbánková's initial translation from 1976 renders *my beloved* as *milý*. This slightly archaic expression is generally used to denote a romantic partner, usually at a stage of courting before marriage, and is discussed in greater detail in sections 4.4.1 as well as 8.1.1. and 8.2.2. Unlike Macek in 4.4.1., Urbánková uses its masculine form *milý* as opposed to the feminine form *milá*, clearly denoting that this sonnet is dedicated to a male partner with whom the author is involved in this close and possibly romantic relationship.

JU 1997 p.215

*a že mým idolem je **přítel milý***

[and that my idol is my **dear friend**]

The revised 1997 version retains the expression *milý*, but it changes from its nominalised form to an adjective meaning *dear* through the addition of the noun *friend* before it. This retains the rhyme of the original sonnet but creates a markedly different meaning for the poem, where it moves from the romantic towards a platonic, friendship-based level. This is further confirmed in line 5:

l.5

Kind is **my love** to-day, to-morrow kind,

EAS

***Můj milý** je tak dobrý, dnes a stále*

[**My (m.)dear/lover** is so good, today and always]

JU

***Můj přítel** je tak dobrý, denně, stále*

[**My friend** is so good, daily, always]

With the same strategy as applied in line 2, Urbánková systematically removes the expression *milý* in favour of *friend*, further confirming the platonic tone of the sonnet. Section 8.2.2. explains in greater detail that *milý* in its nominalised form is less frequently used in present-day Czech and Slovak, and only one of the four post-revolutionary translators analysed in this section use it frequently throughout their translation. However, even if Urbánková removed the expression in order to give the sonnets a more contemporary feel, there were other options that would not immediately introduce the element of friendship into the narrative, like the nominalised adjective *drahý* [dear]. Her choice to replace the expression with *friend* presents a considerable shift as the two nouns have markedly different meanings, and again pushes the interpretative potential towards the platonic.

The last example is represented by a translation that also shows changes between individual versions on a number of different levels and that was mentioned previously in sections 4.4.3. and 5.5.4. Sonnet 101 is constructed as a one-sided dialogue between the author and his Muse where he accuses her of neglecting the

subject of the beloved. He explains that while the beloved is so beautiful that they need no further embellishments, that is not a reason to stop praising them. The sonnet opens with the accusatory question, 'O truant Muse what shall be thy amends' and continues as follows:

S.101/2-3
For thy neglect of truth in beauty dy'd?
Both **truth and beauty** on **my love** depends;
ES 1976 p.113
*Že chválu **věrné lásky** zanedbáváš?*
Na milém věrnost s láskou závisí
[that you neglect **the praise of true love**?
On the (m.)dear/lover depend faithfulness and love]

There is a number of interesting shifts in Urbánková's 1976 translation as compared to the original version and that make it arguably easier to include the sonnet into a romantic narrative. Line 2 extends the keyword '*truth'* to '*true love*' [věrné lásky], in a marked contrast to her later strategy of removing the mentions of *love* from her translations. Line 3 replaces 'truth and beauty' with '*faithfulness and love*', where '*faithfulness'* [věrnost] is the same term already considered in sonnet 122 above and that strongly suggests vows of a romantic attachment. Most interestingly, the term 'my love' that is used as a noun addressing the recipient is rendered as *milý*, explained above.

JU 1997 p. 207
že zanedbáváš krásu opravdovou?
Pravda a krása, to je ***přítel náš***,
[that you neglect the true beauty?
Truth and beauty, that is **our friend**]

The 1997 version presents several differences. *True love* is removed and replaced by *true beauty*, which is closer to the original version but also considerably tones down the potential for a romantic and/or sexual interpretation. Line 3 underwent the most drastic changes, as faithfulness and love disappear in favour of *truth and beauty* and most importantly, *my love* becomes *our friend*. The complexity of these

changes and their clear focus on the potentially revealing parts of the poems point towards a conscious effort to change the possibilities for interpretation of the poems for the new readership in 1997. This is further confirmed by the fact that several other translators decided to publish a full version of their translations based on the 1976 edition (Hodek, Hron and Uličný, all analysed in section 8.2.) and while they include some slight changes and updates when compared to their first translations, none of them are as far-reaching, or as significantly related to the subject of same-sex affection as Jarmila Urbánková's.

6.5 CHAPTER REVIEW

In a contrast to Josek's approach in the previous chapter, a quantitative analysis of Urbánková's 1997 translation shows a comparatively high number of clearly male-addressed sonnets similar to versions published before the Velvet Revolution, or translations from Hodek, Feldek or Uličný. This suggests that Urbánková perceived the Fair Youth sequence as being unquestionably dedicated to a male recipient, and her translation is not attempting to conceal this fact. However, a qualitative analysis on a semiotic and contextual level nonetheless reveals a consistent and systematic strategy that significantly alters the image of same-sex affection and desire presented in the sonnets. This is achieved through a series of micro-level changes, amongst which the most prominent is the insertion of the keywords *friend* or *friendship* either as replacements of the words *love* or *lover* or without any clear counterpart in the original. Nouns and verbs related to romantic affection are likewise frequently removed or replaced with expressions that diminish or alter the intensity of the emotion that the author expresses for the recipient. The intentionality of these steps is most prominently demonstrated by the differences between Urbánková's partial 1976 translation, published in the middle of the socialist period, and her complete 1997 version that came out in the current democratic era. The changes strongly suggest that one of the aims of the editing process was to alter and reduce the possibility for a reading of the sonnets as poems dedicated to a romantic partner, and instead to lead the reader's imagination towards a friendship-based, platonic interpretation. The fact that her version does not include any paratextual material that would contextualise the sonnets or touch upon the controversies surrounding them reaffirms the idea that the

sonnets are here presented to the reader in their finalised form, removing attention from the possible shifts that might have occurred during the translation process. While the edition is bilingual, as was mentioned in section 5.2., very few Czech and Slovak readers have access to the complicated language used in the English version of the sonnets, which makes any comparisons with the original considerably difficult.

Although Urbánková's translation strategy is unique within the fifteen translations that form the corpus of this work, it is not uncommon in the translation history of the sonnets in other parts of the world. Dirk Delabastita calls this type of approach an attempt 'to 'spiritualize' and platonize' the relationship between the poet and the young man' (1985:119), and identifies this method in several existing versions of the sonnets, amongst others in a German translation from Karl Kraus (1933). All of these translation strategies could be, in turn, seen as a part of a wider historical approach to the sonnets that reappears regularly throughout the four centuries of their history. This reading typically relies on the claim that *love* itself had a much wider interpretative connotation in Elizabethan England than our current understanding of it (Vilikovský, 2014:109), and that the intimate and passionate language found in the Fair Youth sequence was part of a common discourse between male friends and is therefore excluded from 'paederasty in any lurid sense' (Ingram & Redpath, 1978:xi). This particular form of relationship, characterised as a 'profound and at times agitated friendship, which involved a certain physical and quasi-sexual fascination' (ibid.), is described as an almost foreign phenomenon in our current Western society as it is 'very different from any modern concept of love or friendship between men' (Atkins, 2007:14). The line of interpretation is also frequently accompanied by a strong contrast placed onto the sexual and erotic undertones in the Dark Lady sequence where Shakespeare 'was utterly infatuated with the dark young woman, driven 'frantic-mad' by her, as a strongly sexed heterosexual well might be' (Rowse, 1984:xiii), further emphasising the difference between the sensual, heterosexual side of the sonnets and the pure, platonic homosocial relationship to the young man. However, as was mentioned in Chapter 2, Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick in her book *Between Men* strongly questions the dichotomy between homosocial and homoerotic and suggests that there is an unbroken continuum between these two concepts within the history of male relationships (1985:1). Halperin (2000) proposes a theory that these accounts of male

bonding that reappear frequently through human history and that are also represented in the sonnets should not be seen as wholly separated from the concept of homosexuality on the ground of their lack of open mentions of sexual intercourse, but instead included in a continuous narrative as one of the historical elements that feed into the current idea of homosexuality. In Halperin's words,

> the friendship tradition provided socially empowered men with an established discursive venue in which to express, without social reproach, sentiments of passionate and mutual love for one another, and such passionate, mutual love between persons of the same sex is an important component of what we now call homosexuality. (p.101)

Whether the relationship in the sonnets is seen as a part of a long narrative of what we in twenty-first century Western understanding call homosexuality, or as a particular phenomenon that existed only in the time and place of Shakespeare's England, is open to interpretation for every reader of the sonnets. However, the fact remains that these vehement academic and readerly arguments that accompany the prefaces and afterwords of many reprints of the sonnets exist exactly because the bond between the author and the recipient in the Fair Youth sequence does not fully conform to our contemporary Western understanding of male friendship and could therefore just as easily be interpreted as expressing romantic and homoerotic feelings. Urbánková's translation alters exactly those instances where the sonnets are most explicit about these emotions, and through that presents a version of the sonnets that limits the possibility for such a reading. Urbánková was at the time of publication a highly esteemed literary translator and her version was published in a small, private publishing house, and it is therefore unlikely that her work would have been subjected to any significant editorial or censorial changes. If we follow the interpretation of aforementioned critics that claim that Shakespeare speaks to us with a language of pure, platonic friendship that does not have a counterpart in our current world, it could certainly be argued that Urbánková's translation is merely an updated version for a contemporary audience, adjusted so that the poems are understood as they were supposed to be. This is strongly supported by the changes made between the versions published in 1976 and 1997, separated by twenty years of societal changes including

the Velvet Revolution in 1989, which suggests that the translator's own interpretation of the sonnets, or her perception of the intended reader, changed in this timespan. However, without a paratextual apparatus that would comment on these changes, the reader is left without the possibility to contemplate the other interpretations of the relationships in the sonnets, which results in what could be considered another form of censorship of the collection.

7 CORPUS ANALYSIS – VÁCLAV PINKAVA

The last chapter introducing the individual work of a translator is dedicated to the version of the sonnets published in 2010 by Václav Pinkava. While the three previous translators all used semantical alterations in the text of the sonnets in order to obscure, shift or change the possibility to read the sonnets as a collection of amorous poetry between two men, Pinkava is the only translator from the corpus who achieves such changes through paratextual elements.

7.1 TRANSLATOR'S PROFILE

Václav Z.J.Pinkava was born in 1958 as the son of the renowned author and poet Jan Křesadlo, and the family emigrated to the United Kingdom following the invasion of Czechoslovakia by Warsaw troops in the summer of 1968. Pinkava spent the next twenty years of his life in England, finishing his education with a degree from Oxford University, and finally returned to the Czech Republic shortly after the Velvet Revolution. Despite the move, Pinkava preserves the bilingualism of his upbringing and mentions in an interview (Maděra, 2000) that his household still speaks predominantly in English. Pinkava's primary occupation is translation and interpreting, although he is also known as a journalist, poet and artist. The only literary translations he has published to this date are Lewis Carrol's *The Hunting of the Snark* (2008) and the collection of Shakespeare's sonnets used in this corpus, but his website[34] contains several hundreds of unpublished translations from English to Czech and vice versa, predominantly of poetry.

7.2 PINKAVA'S SONNETS

Pinkava's translation is the most recent one within this corpus, and, at the time of writing this chapter, also the last available complete translation of the sonnets from a new translator[35]. Pinkava's version is also the first one published outside of regular

[34] http://www.vzjp.cz/verse.htm.
[35] The most recent published version of the sonnets is Miloslav Uličný's 2015 re-edition of his 2005 version.

publishing houses, using Amazon's independent self-publishing platform *CreateSpace* instead. Beside the sonnets, the volume also includes a translation of Shakespeare's narrative poem *A Lover's Complaint* [Milostivé trápení] that is part of the original quarto edition. The sonnets are published in a bilingual format, with each page containing Pinkava's translation on the left side, and the English version on the right. The English text is printed in the original quarto spelling, e.g. sonnet number 1 starts with the line '**F**Rom faireſt creatures we deſire increaſe' [sic] which is in all other bilingual versions transliterated as 'From fairest creatures we desire increase'. Pinkava explains this decision as his attempt to return to the roots of the sonnet text as it was supposedly in the eyes of the original Elizabethan or Jacobean reader.

The sonnet collection starts with a short, stylised introduction and closes with an epilogue titled *What did the author want to say?* where Pinkava explains some of his translation choices, but also offers his own theories on the meaning of the sonnets. The most prominent feature of this afterword is Pinkava's emphasis on his alternative approach towards the sonnets themselves. Conscious of the long list of previous Czech translations, Pinkava claims he finally produced a translation of the sonnets that is translated without the burden of scholarly analysis and academic commentaries produced over the last four hundred years. Citing his bilingual upbringing as his main source of credibility, Pinkava presents his collection as a fresh and innovative version of the sonnets, emphasising that this translation is 'unbiased, devoid of prejudice, editorial or interpretative layers and coatings' and that he 'iconoclastically questions existing interpretations' (p.157). He condemns translations that indiscriminately copy traditional readings of the sonnets and claims that this approach obscures a wealth of other possible meanings. However, his arguments often show a lack of knowledge about the scholarship he criticises. For example, Pinkava's statement that 'the commentators do not heed one bit the smallest possibility that some of the sonnets could have been written by a woman' (p.159) ignores a frequently reappearing theory that 'Shakespeare' indeed was female (see for example Gulick, 1954).

The afterword does directly address the question of possible homoeroticism in the sonnets with the following paragraph:

> Shakespeare does not have to be understood as homosexual or bisexual, (although why not), when some sonnets could relate to the relationship between

a father and a son, possibly illegitimate, kept secret, because his dad claiming him for his own would harm him if they weren't using a code. (p.159)

While Pinkava asserts that he has no issue with Shakespeare's possible attraction to men, this paratextual comment signalises a strategy that permeates his version of the sonnets; if we push the interpretative potential to and sometimes beyond their limit, it is possible to explain the sonnets in a perfectly heteronormative way. These alternative interpretations of the sonnets are one of the key elements of Pinkava's translations, and they will form the main part of the qualitative analysis of this chapter.

7.3 QUANTITATIVE CORPUS ANALYSIS

While the focus of the analysis for Pinkava's sonnets will be the paratextual apparatus he adds to his collection, the quantitative analysis still reveals interesting additional facts that help Pinkava to create his own narrative for the sonnets. His intention to preserve the original meaning of the poems without the influence of existing theories reflect on his approach to the gendered elements in the sonnets.

	Shakespeare	**Pinkava**
M	12	16
F	0	0
-	95	91
B	2	2

As is immediately apparent from the table, Pinkava's version copies Shakespeare's original gender ratio very closely, with the twelve originally male-addressed sonnets becoming sixteen in their Czech translation. The strategy resembles Josek's 2008 translation discussed in section 5.3., where it was established that the grammatical differences between English and Czech make the retaining of this gender ratio a considerably difficult undertaking. This is further confirmed by the comparatively large number of gendered sonnets in the Fair Youth sequence in all other translations within this corpus, as shown in Appendix 2, and suggests a conscious decision on the part of the translator to consistently follow Shakespeare's original

gender ratio throughout their translation. Pinkava confirms this in his epilogue, where he emphasises his attempts to present the sonnets in their purest form unburdened by traditional divisions into Fair Youth and Dark Lady sequences (p.159). While this result opens the possibility that Pinkava follows the same censorial structures as Josek in chapter 5, a brief comparison of the detailed results of the analysis in Appendix 3 confirms that Pinkava does not attempt to present any of the originally male-addressed sonnets as gender-neutral, as is the case in Josek's translation. However, as the following qualitative analysis shows, Pinkava employs a number of textual and paratextual changes that take the reader's attention away from the possibility to read the sonnets within the Fair Youth sequence as being dedicated to a romantic relationship between two men.

7.4 QUALITATIVE CORPUS ANALYSIS

While the previous three chapters on selected translators focused on the textual and contextual elements of the sonnets, the qualitative analysis for Pinkava's work will focus predominantly on the paratextual elements. As described in the previous sections, Pinkava positions his translations in an opposition to traditional sonnet renderings through his unconventional approach to the poems' interpretative potential. While some of his thoughts on this subject are included in the afterword, the main corpus of his alternative understanding of the poems is included in the form of in-text comments that appear attached to individual sonnets throughout the corpus. These are printed on the top of the page, above the mirrored Czech and English versions of the sonnets, strongly suggesting to the reader that they should be read before proceeding to the actual sonnets themselves. While several translators in this corpus include short remarks on selected poems in the afterword of their collections (Klášterský, Feldek, Vladislav, both collaborative editions), the only other translator who includes comments directly next to the individual sonnets is Martin Hilský in his 2012 version aimed at academic or highly specialised audiences. Unlike Hilský's systematic paratextual apparatus, Pinkava's approach to commentaries is more arbitrary and selective, with only about a third of the sonnets being equipped with a commentary. The themes of these comments can be divided into the following categories; remarks on the formal aspect of the sonnets, including some of the rhythmical or metrical

irregularities and possible formal changes imposed on the poems by the publishers (S.1, 77, 99, 116, 138, 144, 146, 152), bringing attention to interesting wordplay instances, some of which Pinkava attempts to render into Czech (S.7, 8, 23, 33, 111, 128, 130, 135, 136, 137, 143, 145, 150, 154), and lastly, Pinkava's opinion on the meaning of individual sonnets. Some of these (83, 121) express the translator's personal preference, others (39, 44, 45, 87, 109, 110, 123, 129, 134, 151) offer more generalised comments on the themes that run through the sonnets. For example, number 44 (p.45) is accompanied by a comment *živly: voda a země* [elements: water and earth], bringing attention to the motifs of sea and land mentioned in the sonnet. The rest of these comments represent the translator's suggestions on the interpretative possibilities of the sonnets and frequently focus on the type of relationship described in the individual sonnets, and this group will represent the main corpus of this analysis. The interpretative approach within this corpus will be divided into two categories based on the themes Pinkava pursues in his paratextual comments.

7.4.1 MYTHOLOGICAL OR METAPHORICAL INTERPRETATION

The first of the interpretative suggestions reoccurring in Pinkava's observations is his repeated suggestion that the sonnets are dedicated to a supernatural being, most commonly the god of love, Amor.

Sonnet 26 p.27

With a frequently applied strategy where the writer is 'claiming his incompetence in the most exquisitely competent way possible' (Paterson, 2010:80), sonnet 26 declares that the author is as of yet unworthy to glorify the recipient with his allegedly poor skills but expresses hope that this might one day change and he will *dare to boast how I do love thee*; l.13. While the opening line *Lord of my love, to whom in vassalage* (l.1) led to frequent suggestions that the recipient of the Fair Youth sequence could be of aristocratic birth, several commentators also point to the fact that the sonnet is structured along traditional patterns of courtly amorous poetry (Kerrigan, 1986:207; Rowse, 1984:55). The noun also clearly confirms the recipient as being male, and section 5.5.1. explored Josek's strategies in concealing this term of address. Pinkava's aim is clearly not to remove the masculine element from the poem as his

translation retains the title of the addressee *Pane mé lásky* [Lord of my love], however he employs a number of subtle contextual shifts visible throughout the sonnet. The term 'duty', appearing twice in the text, is in both cases translated as '*úcta'* [respect], pointing towards a formalised relationship as opposed to the possibly romanticised vassalage of love described in the sonnet. However, the most interesting aspect diverting attention from possible interpretations is Pinkava's paratextual comment above the sonnet, which seems to be designed to confuse the reader.

> *... než oříšek překladový, tento sonet je oříškem výkladovým, zde věrně ve snaze přenést nejasnosti dál. (ale třeba je míněn Eros, spojen s částí těla) ...*
> [...rather than a translation issue, this sonnet is an interpretative enigma, here faithfully [in an] attempt to carry the ambiguity further (but maybe what is meant is Eros, connected to a body part) ...]

Pinkava's comment indicates to the reader that the sonnet they are about to read will puzzle and confuse them with an obscure meaning that he, as the translator, nonetheless attempted to convey truthfully. While, as pointed out several times throughout this thesis, Shakespeare's sonnets, as most poetic works, are open to a great number of interpretations, sonnet 26 uses a relatively simple theme and is rarely described as enigmatic or difficult to grasp. Pinkava likewise does not caution his readers about puzzling interpretations in any of the other sonnets, even those with more obscure motifs than sonnet 26. His second remark suggests that the Lord of the author's love is *Eros*, and Pinkava does not offer further clues on whether he means one of the incarnations of the god of love Amor mentioned later in the text, or the Greek concept of physical/passionate love. Equally ambiguous is the rest of the comment, and the reader is left wondering whether this is connected to the last line of the sonnet (*Till then, not show my head where thou mayst prove me*, l.14) or to look for a more sexualised meaning of the comment. Both of these suggestions imply that the expression *Lord of my love* should not be taken literally, and that the reader is not supposed to imagine a human recipient behind a sonnet that confirms on a textual level the presence of a male beloved.

Sonnet 53 p.54

Sonnet 53 combines Neoplatonic ideals that were popular in Shakespeare's time (Booth, 1977:224) with images from classical mythology. It enumerates the recipient's qualities in likening them to both Adonis and Helen, the Greek symbols of male and female beauty. Giving the recipient both traditionally masculine and feminine attributes is not singular within the collection (see sonnet 20 in section 7.4.2.), however the image of a potentially male recipient in the attire of the famed Helen of Troy (*On Helen's cheek all art of beauty set, | And you in Grecian tires are painted new*, l.7-8) might to some readers appear 'a shade grotesque', to cite the editor of the Arden edition of the sonnets Katherine Duncan-Jones (1997:216). Pinkava translates the sonnet as unambiguously male-addressed, but the androgyny of the description is solved with another paratextual comment:

> *... s přesvědčením, že popisovaným je Amor ...*
> [... with the persuasion that the described one is Amor ...]

Pinkava's 'persuasion' clearly steers the reader's imagination from a male addressee towards the image of the Roman god of love Amor, and effectively nullifies possible issues with a male lover of the author dressed in female clothes. This is supported in the text itself through Pinkava's choice in his translation of the final couplet:

> S.53/14, p.54
> But **you like none, none you,** for constant heart.
> ***sám bez srdce**, nestálý, nevěrný*
> [**you (m.)alone without a heart**, unstable, unfaithful]

The majority of commentators agree that the last line is praising the constancy of the addressee's heart (Duncan-Jones, 1997:216; Ingram & Redpath, 1978:123; Kerrigan, 1986:239; Rowse, 1984:109), but Pinkava decides to interpret the line as an accusation that the recipient is devoid of emotions and fickle in their affection. This supports the image of a whimsical god of love that is androgynously beautiful in appearance but immune to human affection himself, and further turns the reader's attention away from the theme of uncritical adoration of a possibly human addressee.

Sonnet 55 p.56

In a stark contrast to the humble and modest sonnet 26 above, sonnet 55 claims that the author's *powerful rhyme* (l.2) will create a memory of the recipient that *Not marble, nor the gilded monuments | Of princes' will outlive* (l.1-2). This frequently anthologised poem speaks directly to the recipient in the second person, and as such does not disclose the gender of this recipient. Pinkava retains this ambiguity, but he introduces the sonnet with the following commentary:

... zas Amor, v očích milenců ...
[...Amor again, in the eyes of lovers ...]

It is probable that Pinkava's commentary refers to the last line of the sonnet, *You live in this, and dwell in lovers' eyes*. Given the fact that the sonnet is clearly addressing a recipient in second person (*you* is used twice, *your* once), commentators suggest that the line refers to future readers who will identify with the love shared by the author and the recipient of this poem (Blakemore Evans, 1996:164; Kerrigan, 1986:243). Pinkava's commentary once again suggests that instead of an actual beloved, the *you* described in the sonnet is the metaphor for love in general, personified through traditional mythological depictions. Given the frequency with which the theme of immortalisation occurs in the sonnet collection, these comments could easily be read as a suggestion that all of these poems are to be read as describing abstract concepts instead of actual human recipients. The same approach is also taken in the following example.

Sonnet 104 p.105

The theme of the ceaseless passage of time is in this sonnet expressed through the reassurance that the recipient will never be viewed as old in the eyes of the author, and that the three years of their mutual acquaintance did not alter their beauty (*Three April perfumes in three hot Junes burn'd, | Since first I saw you fresh, which yet are green.*, l.7-8). The poem addresses the recipient as *fair friend*, compelling Czech translators to choose between the feminine *přítelkyně* and the masculine *přítel*, or to replace the expression with a gender-neutral one. Thirteen out of fifteen translations in this corpus choose to use the masculine noun *přítel*, including Pinkava (for the

remaining two, see Macek in 4.4.1. and Josek in 5.4.1), but the reading of his version is further influenced by another paratextual comment.

> *... s přesvědčením, že oslovením je abstrakce tříleté lásky, Amor ...*
> [... with the persuasion that the addressee is the abstract form of three years' worth of love, Amor ...]

Pinkava's interpretation removes the focus of the sonnet from the male addressee described by the author as unchangingly beautiful in his own eyes and applies it instead to the mythological god Amor as the personification of Love. This interpretation is supported through Pinkava's semantical choice in his translation of the first line:

> S.104/1, p.105
> To me, **fair friend**, you never can be old,
> *Můj nestárnoucí **plavý příteli***
> [My ageless **fair-haired friend**]

While all other translators from this corpus either leave out the adjective *fair* or translate it in its archaic meaning of beautiful (*příteli krásný*, Klášterský n.p.), Pinkava chooses the second meaning of the word and renders the friend 'fair-haired', further supporting the traditional golden-haired image of the Roman god of love. Pinkava's textual and paratextual strategy solves the sensitive predicament of a love poem dedicated to a male friend through a shift in perspective, where the personified Amor becomes a metaphor for a three years' worth of a relationship between two unspecified and, most importantly, ungendered lovers.

Sonnet 126 p.127

According to the traditional division of the sonnets into the two main thematic clusters, sonnet 126 closes the Fair Youth sequence as the last poem clearly addressing a male recipient. Its theme is often read as a coda as it summarises the leading motifs that overarch the majority of the poems and once more emphasises the unrelenting passage of time that will ultimately destroy youth, beauty and other worldly values. The sense of closure is further supported by the unusual format of the sonnet as the

rhyme scheme follows an AA BB CC pattern instead of the usual ABAB CDCD, and it is missing its final couplet, replaced in the quarto edition with two sets of brackets. Another interesting point relevant to this work is the fact that it is one of only two poems that refer to the recipient with the word *boy* (*O thou, my lovely boy, who in thy power*, l.1; the second instance is sonnet 108). Pinkava again preserves this expression but offers the following interpretation of its meaning in his comment.

> *… s kacířským přesvedčením, že tento sonet je rozvernou odbočkou, popisovaným je Měsíc, dodržujme piktogram O, a proč ne hravý text do závorek...*
> […] with a heretical persuasion, that this sonnet is a capricious digression, the (m.)described [one] is the Moon, let us keep the pictogram O, and why not a playful text in brackets…]

The 'heresy' that Pinkava also mentions in his comment to sonnet 20 below presumably refers to what he sees as his own unconventional and innovative reading of the collection opposing the canonical and metaphorically sacred interpretations of what he perceives as the Shakespearean tradition. It is questionable how familiar Pinkava is with the actual depth and breadth of the 'tradition' he so vigorously opposes, given the fact he presents it as a homogeneous and monolithic reading that supposedly did not change over the four hundred years of its existence, but the focus of this work is the effect Pinkava's commentaries have on the interpretative potential of the sonnets. His note to sonnet 126 suggests that instead of an actual human boy, the poem is dedicated to the Moon, an argument he supports by the exclamatory 'O' in the first and ninth line, together with the theme of waning and waxing in line 3 and 4 (*Who hast by waning grown, and therein show'st |Thy lovers withering, as thy sweet self grow'st*.) The originality of Pinkava's idea is certainly undeniable, as none of the other major commentators suggest this interpretation of the sonnet. Ironically, this is the only poem in the collection that is occasionally connected with the god of love Cupid (Duncan-Jones, 1997:364; Ingram & Redpath, 1978:288). This singularity could be possibly explained through the fact that the Czech language genders the moon as masculine, while other languages, including the Romance family, gender the moon as feminine, further complicating possible anthropomorphising. While Pinkava's

comments accompany some of the sonnets in the following section traditionally ascribed to the Dark Lady, it is interesting to note that none of them suggest that this female recipient could be interpreted in a metaphorical or abstract sense, and this despite the fact that the Roman goddess Venus, an obvious candidate for such an interpretation, is the focus of one of Shakespeare's most successful narrative poems *Venus and Adonis* (1593).

7.4.2 FAMILIAL AND PARENTAL INTERPRETATION

Another strategy that can be detected in Pinkava's paratextual apparatus is his repeated claim that sonnets with potential for a reading suggesting same-sex affection between the author and the recipient are actually based on familial relations.

Sonnet 21 p.22

The author criticises the muses of other authors who use exaggerated similes to describe the objects of their affections (*Making a couplement of proud compare.* | *With sun and moon, with earth and sea's rich gems* l.5-6), and instead promises to describe the recipient in a much more genuine and natural way (*O! let me, true in love, but truly write*, l.9). Several commentators see this sonnet as a direct criticism of the flowery language used by Philip Sidney, whose *Astrophil and Stella* (1591) started the wave of sonneteering in the late 16th century England (Duncan-Jones, 1997:152; Rowse, 1984:45). Pinkava uses this opportunity to introduce one of his alternative theories on the authorship of the sonnets.

> ...s *ne tak docela potlačeným dojmem, že prinejmenším tento sonet napsala maminka, třeba taková Aemilia Bassano Lanyer (1569 ~ 1645), která porodila nemanželského syna jménem Henry Carey stejnojmennému otci r. 1593 ale nešť ...*
>
> [... with a not completely suppressed feeling that at least this sonnet was written by a mum, perhaps one Aemilia Bassano Lanyer (1569 ~ 1645), who gave birth to an illegitimate son named Henry Carrey to a father of the same name in the year 1593, but however that may be…]

Pinkava's choice of a possible authoress of this sonnet reveals at least partial awareness of the popular theories about the identity of the recipient of the sonnets, as Lanyer is one of the most frequently mentioned candidates for the role of the Dark Lady in the later part of the collection (Green, 2006; Smith, 2007). A possible reason behind Pinkava's choice to interpret this sonnet as one written by a mother for her illegitimate child could be in lines 10 and 11: *my love is as fair | As any mother's child,* but the majority of commentators interpret this as simply a poetic expression to replace 'any human' (Kerrigan, 1986:202; Paterson, 2010:66). The sonnet's overarching theme might be difficult to consolidate with a maternal perspective, and as the following examples show, Pinkava uses a similar interpretative approach in several other cases.

Sonnet 32 p.33

Referring to the time after his death, the author urges the recipient not to judge his sonnets even if it will one day appear outdated compared with newer, more refined works of poetry. Instead, he urges the recipient to cherish the emotion contained in these verses - *But since he died and poets better prove, | Theirs for their style I'll read, his for his love*. (l.13-14). The author's self-deprecating claim about the shortages of his poetry that are outweighed by their sincerity and purity reappears in several instances throughout the collection. Pinkava's commentary brings a different perspective to this sonnet:

> *...opět téma o potomku počatém z lásky, který je dílem nad sebelepší verše, pointa je v řádcích 10 až 12...*
> [...again a theme of an offspring conceived out of love, who is an artwork above all verse, with the point being in lines 10 to 12…]

Pinkava's argument rests on the following lines: *'Had my friend's Muse grown with this growing age, | A dearer birth than this his love had brought, | To march in ranks of better equipage*. While the keywords *grow*, *growing* and *birth* might offer some clues to Pinkava's suggested reading of the sonnet, the rest of the sonnet as well as its position within the corpus of 154 strongly suggest that this refers to the poetry written by the author for the recipient, and not to an actual child, as is confirmed by

the majority of existing commentaries. Pinkava's paratextual comment not only helps to obscure the possibility to read the poem as referring to amorous verse written from a man to another man, but could also potentially suggest that all sonnets within the collection that reiterate a similar theme of human mortality and the relative merits of writerly skills are, too, written from a familial perspective.

Sonnet 34 p.35

As mentioned in section 5.4.2., sonnet 34 accuses the recipient of an unspecified betrayal or mistake. The body of the sonnet consists of a detailed description of the damaging effects this deed had on the author and a repeated claim that the recipient's penance will not undo the harm done, but the couplet finally turns to forgiveness; *Ah! but those tears are pearl which thy love sheds, | And they are rich and ransom all ill deeds* (l.13-14). While the sonnet is not dedicated to the glorification or immortalisation of the beloved as is frequently the case within the Fair Youth sequence, it is one of the few poems in the collection that describe the relationship between the author and recipient as personal and human, far removed from the worshipful tone that the majority of the sonnets assume. Pinkava's interpretation reads as follows:

> *... zní to jakoby adresováno slunci, které je ovšem vhodným zástupcem syna, slovní hříčkou sun/son ...*
> [... sounds like addressed to the sun, which is of course also a suitable replacement for the son, with the wordplay on sun/son ...]

The homonyms sun/son are a well-known wordplay amongst readers of Shakespeare, as it is used, amongst others, in the frequently quoted opening lines of the play *Richard III*. While several commentators mention the possible connection with sun imagery if we read sonnet 34 and the preceding sonnet 33 as a thematic cluster (Burrow, 2002:449; Mowat & Werstine, 2004:72), there is no indication within the text that the metaphor should be extended to the wordplay of the homophonic sun/son. Pinkava is effectively suggesting that the metaphor of sun from the preceding sonnet 33 extends to 34 and should be here understood in its homophonic meaning of son. Again, the question presents itself whether this is not another attempt to turn the

reader's attention away from a potential argument between two lovers towards the theme of a parent scolding their child, which is not in any way directly mentioned in the original sonnet.

Sonnet 37, p.38

The author, himself in a lamentable situation, takes solace in the good fortunes he sees bestowed upon the recipient of the sonnet, and rejoices with their success (*made lame by Fortune's dearest spite, | Take all my comfort of thy worth and truth,* l.3-4). While for a number of commentators, this argument proves the uneven social standing between the author and the recipient of the sonnets (Rowse, 1984:37), Pinkava takes this opportunity to offer another filial interpretation:

> *... až lapidární vyznání vztahu otce k synovi, který vyrůstá v lepší společnosti...*
> [... an almost laconic confession of a relationship of a father to his son, who is growing up in a better society ...]

As in the previous examples, the sonnet includes keywords related to parenthood, in this case the opening line of the poem: *As a decrepit father takes delight | To see his active child do deeds of youth,*' (l.1-2). While some earlier commentators interpret these lines as a literal proof of Shakespeare's physical handicap (Ingram & Redpath, 1978:88; Kerrigan, 1986:220), Pinkava decides to view the second part of this metaphor in a literal way. If we oversee the fact that a father-related simile would rarely be used if the actual theme of the sonnet was a father taking delight in his child, it is marginally possible to read the sonnet's main theme, which is happiness through other person's happiness, as an expression of parental love. That does not change the fact that such an interpretation is nearly impossible to fit in with the rest of the sonnets, unless – as Pinkava repeatedly suggests – other poems too relate to parental affection instead.

Sonnet 42 p.43

One of four sonnets that seems to feature three characters; the author, his *friend*, and the unnamed *her* that is commonly assumed to be the Dark Lady from the later parts of the collection (see also sonnets 41, 134, 133, 144). Sonnet 42 introduces

what appears to be a love triangle between these three persons, and the author particularly rues the loss of the *friend* to *her* (*That she hath thee is of my wailing chief, A loss in love that touches me more nearly*.). His solution to this problem seems to be the following realisation: *But here's the joy; my friend and I are one; | Sweet flattery! then she loves but me alone*. As Duncan-Jones points out, 'Although he appears to address both lovers […], subsequent lines make it clear that the youth alone is the poet's true concern', and the sonnet habitually sparks further question about the author's attraction to men, women, or both of these genders. Pinkava, in line with previous examples, decides to offer his own perspective on this controversial poem:

> *... s pocitem, že jde o popis vztahu mezi otcem, matkou a jejich synem, kojencem, pokud opomeneme lascivnější výklad přítele, kde vášeň bere místo lásce ...*
> [... with the feeling that this is a description of a relationship between a father, a mother and their son, [who is] a [breastfed] baby, if we omit the more lascivious interpretation of the friend, where passion takes the place of love ...]

Given the structure of the sonnet, Pinkava's suggestion can only be understood as a complaint of a father whose wife's attention is stolen away by their new-born son. This interpretation is difficult to consolidate with the verses of the sonnet themselves, partly because the 'father' would have to refer to his infant son as his 'friend' in two instances as Pinkava preserves both terms of address. Moreover, the considerably passionate tone of the sonnet that strongly suggests romantic love, interpreted as a father's jealousy towards his baby, could to some readers appear considerably distasteful. While the interpretation is certainly original and in line with Pinkava's aim to present the sonnets in an innovative light, it is questionable to which degree this choice can be read as an attempt to hide the element of bisexuality that other commentators find in the sonnet (Paterson, 2010:127).

Sonnet 108 p.109

The only poem addressing the recipient as *sweet boy* in line 5 is understandably one of the most controversial as well as most frequently censored sonnets in the collection and was part of the analysis in section 4.4.2. and 6.4.3. The expression itself

is in Pinkava's translation rendered literally (*chlapče sladký,* sweet boy), however he accompanies the sonnet with the following comment:

> *... no není tohle vztah otce k synovi, kterého pokřtil a obskakoval, pročpak by ne? ...*
> [... now isn't this the relationship between a father and his son, whom he baptised and fussed over, whyever not? ...]

The sonnet is constructed as a rhetorical question where the author asks how to find innovative ways to glorify the recipient (*What's new to speak, what now to register,* | *That may express my love, or thy dear merit?* l.3-4), and answers himself that despite the seeming repetition, *I must each day say o'er the very same;* | *Counting no old thing old, thou mine, I thine* (l.6-7). Pinkava claims that this rhetoric can nonetheless be consolidated with the relationship of a father and his son, which he further supports by his translation choices directly in the text of the sonnet:

> S.108/8, p.109
> Even as when first **I hallow'd thy fair name**.
> *Jak když ti jméno* ***šel jsem posvěcovat***
> [As when I **went to consecrate** your name]

While several commentators agree that this line echoes the text of the Lord's Prayer (Kerrigan, 1986:321; Mowat & Werstine, 2004:222) and is an expression of the author's devotion towards the recipient, Pinkava decides to shift the focus from the worshipping of a lover towards the act of consecration, and through that creates the image of a father who goes to baptise his new-born son. Despite these textual adjustments, it is difficult to associate a paternal relationship with the sonnet's text, and the comment might appear confusing or even distasteful to some readers. It is also interesting to note that unlike the private commentary Pinkava seems to offer in the case of the majority of the comments, this note is framed as an appeal to agree with his theory that this sonnet could not possibly be understood in any other way than as an expression of paternal affection.

Sonnet 20 p.21

The last example combines both of Pinkava's strategies, a mythological as well as a familial interpretation of a sonnet. As discussed in section 4.4.4., number 20 is perhaps the most frequently disputed poem from the collection both because of its possible implications on the presence or absence of homoerotic affection, and because of its questioning of traditional gender binaries that start with the address of the recipient as *the master mistress of my passion* (l.2). The sonnet describes the implicitly male recipient as possessing all charms stereotypically connected with women but none of their assumed character flaws (*A woman's gentle heart, but not acquainted* | *With shifting change, as is false women's fashion*, l.3-4). The sestet then moves on to explain the 'creation' of this male beloved, where the nature first intended him to be a woman but then fell in love with her creation; *And by addition me of thee defeated* [deprived, Kerrigan 1986:200], *By adding one thing to my purpose nothing* (l.11-12). It is not necessary to be particularly familiar with Elizabethan slang to interpret *thing* as a euphemism for male genitalia in this context, although the meaning is well documented in Shakespearean glossaries (Partridge, 1968:259). The sonnet ends with a frequently quoted couplet: *But since she prick'd thee out for women's pleasure,* | *Mine be thy love and thy love's use their treasure*. Many commentators see this as a definitive proof of a lack of sexual attraction or contact between the author and the recipient (Ingram & Redpath, 1978:50; Rowse, 1984:43), while others question its open naivety and self-subverting language (Duncan-Jones, 1997:150), or see it as a suspicious attempt on the side of the author to 'hastily distance himself from an accusation he has done *everything* to invite' (Paterson, 2010:63, emphasis in original). Pinkava once again decides to forego this controversy and instead suggests two possible interpretations in his paratextual comment:

> *... s kacírskym přesvědčením, že popisovaným je malý synáček, s tváří po mamince, nebo Amor ...*
> [... with the heretical persuasion, that the described [person] is a little son, with a face [taking] after his mother, or Amor ...]

As was the case in sonnet 126, Pinkava positions himself in the role of a heretic in the face of the sanctified corpus of Shakespearean studies. While this would explain

his attempt at originality against the more traditional readings of the collection with his suggestions that the sonnet could concern other themes than a man addressing another man, his arguments are difficult to associate with the theme of the sonnet. While it could be argued that a mythological creature like Amor might stand outside traditional gender binaries that the sonnet describes, it is unclear what role the Greek god of love is supposed to play in the second half where the author is 'deprived' of the recipient due to the shape of his genitalia. The second explanation suggesting that the addressee of the poem is a child young enough to have androgynous features is equally confusing, particularly given the *fact* that Pinkava retains the recognisably bawdy wordplay on the verb *prick'd* (*vypíchla*, lit. pricked or pierced, with the same connotation as the English *prick*). As is the case with sonnets 42 and 108, some readers might find this suggestion not only confusing but considerably objectionable.

7.5 CHAPTER REVIEW

The last of the editions chosen for an individual analysis was the 2010 translation of the sonnets by Václav Pinkava, published via Amazon's platform *CreateSpace*. The foreword and afterword of this collection repeatedly stress the novel approach with which Pinkava confronts the sonnets, and the translator claims this new translation is liberated from the centuries of scholarly traditions that obscure the true meaning of the sonnets. The quantitative analysis of the collection shows a relatively small number of clearly gendered sonnets in the analysed section between numbers 18-126. As was explained and will be further exemplified in chapter 8, this de-gendering of the sonnets has to be a conscious decision on the part of the translator due to the differences between the source and target languages. This decision certainly aligns with Pinkava's objective to view the sonnets in a new light and through that to also question the traditional division into the Fair Youth and Dark Lady sequences. While the strategy strongly resembles Josek's approach to the sonnets analysed in chapter 5, it is important to note that Pinkava does not remove the masculine gender from those sonnets that are male-addressed in the original collection. As such, this does not constitute an open attempt at censorship, although it does contribute to the narrative Pinkava ultimately intends to introduce into the sonnet collection.

The qualitative analysis focused on paratextual features of the collection represented by Pinkava's comments that accompany some of his sonnets. While some other versions likewise use explanatory notes and other paratextual material to provide background information to the individual poems, Pinkava is the only translator who includes these at the top at the page, suggesting that they should be read before the poem itself. As these frequently suggest to the reader how to approach the sonnets in question, they have the potential to significantly alter the way the sonnets are interpreted. The particular focus of the analysis were those comments that directly relate either to the person to whom the sonnets are addressed or to the type of relationship portrayed in the sonnets. In the first of these cases, Pinkava repeatedly suggests that instead of an actual human (and male) recipient, the sonnets instead address celestial objects, abstract concepts or mythological figures. The latter group of comments focuses on suggestions that instead of amorous poems, the sonnets could portray familial and in particular parental affection towards children. As was shown in the overview, while some of these suggestions could be justified if the sonnets are removed from their context within the cycle, others are significantly difficult to associate with the text of the sonnets. Some, particularly those where Pinkava suggests that the traditionally male lover of the author could instead be his (infant) son might cause considerable objection among readers. Despite the fact that Pinkava presents his findings as innovative and his own work as a liberation of the sonnets from the sediments of anachronistic traditions, his suggestions are rarely novel within the corpus of Shakespearean studies. As the overview of the sonnets' reception history in section 1.1. illustrated, a number of readers and scholars attempted to find alternative explanations for the sonnets' 'puzzling' themes, and numerous scholarly theories remove the focus from the homoerotic elements of the sonnets and suggest that the collections' true theme lies elsewhere. To mention just a few, Katherine Wilson (1974), claims that the sonnets were written as a parody of contemporary poetry, using the male recipient as a subversive element in the face of traditional female-addressed poems, while Margareta De Grazia came with the theory that the real 'scandal' of the sonnets at the time of their publication was not the young man, but the dark lady, frequently described in erotically suggestive language (1993). While Pinkava's suggestions of familial and abstract concepts might be original in their focus, it is part

of a much wider and considerably old endeavour to explain the presence of a male addressee in the sonnets in such a way that would not question Shakespeare's heterosexuality.

Compared with the previous three examples that alter the text of the sonnets directly and therefore obscure the possibility for a homoerotic reading completely from readers who cannot access the original version, Pinkava's strategy might appear less invasive. However, the comments, written in a friendly, persuasive voice that repeatedly suggests that the reader's interpretation is incorrect if they see elements of same-sex affection in the sonnets, nonetheless influence the way the sonnets will be read, and as such are considered a form of censorship. The fact that Pinkava's translation was printed through a self-publishing platform *CreateSpace* means that an editorial intervention or norms imposed by a publishing house are highly unlikely, and it is therefore safe to assume that the decisions made in this particular version of the sonnets are a direct decision of the translator himself.

While Pinkava's interpretative strategy follows some of the standard patterns found repeatedly in the history of the sonnets, the strategy becomes particularly interesting if we consider the date of the collection's publication. In the more than two decades that separate the Velvet Revolution from Pinkava's 2010 version of the sonnets, Czech LGBTQ+ groups achieved several victories in the ongoing fight for equality and recognition, most notably the legalisation of same-sex partnerships in 2006. The traditional linear understanding of history would suggest that these changes directly reflected onto the translations of the sonnets; if society grows more acceptant towards its non-heterosexual population, surely there are fewer reasons to protect Shakespeare's reputation. However, as Pinkava, as well as Josek's version published in 2008 show, the correlation between these societal changes and Shakespearean translations is much more complicated. We witness how the history of same-sex affection in Czech sonnets evolves in a non-linear way, questioning the traditional teleological perspective that views 'the present as a necessary outcome of the past—the point toward which all prior events were trending' (Traub, 2013:21). As illustrated by Kulpa and Mizielinska's tangled model of LGBTQ+ developments in countries of the former Eastern bloc (2011:15, mentioned in section 2.7.), the sonnets in the Czech Republic and Slovakia follow a cyclical, rather than a linear path. A traditional

correlation between societal freedoms and lack of censorship in translation is likewise questioned, and suggests that the translator's approach towards the homoerotic elements in the sonnets is influenced by more than just the 'rigid cultural model laid down by the receptor culture' as suggested by Toury (2012:149) These cyclical, tangled developments become even more pronounced on a larger timescale and as a part of a bigger corpus, and the following chapter will provide the results from the remaining eleven translators.

8 CORPUS ANALYSIS – REMAINING EDITIONS

The first four chapters of the analytical part of this thesis focused on four sonnet translations that stood out through their singular approaches towards the subject of same-sex affection in the poems. While their strategies differed on semantic, contextual and paratextual levels, the unifying factor for all four translations was an interpretative shift that caused a change in the possibilities for a queer reading of the collection. These four editions are part of a larger corpus of fifteen different versions of the sonnets published in the Czech Republic and Slovakia in the past century, and the final chapter will provide an analysis of the remaining eleven translations. They will be further divided into two groups according to the time of their first publication, into translations from before and after the Velvet Revolution.

8.1 PRE-1989 TRANSLATORS

The first part of the corpus analysis will concern translations of Shakespeare's sonnets published for the first time before the Velvet Revolution of 1989 and will consist of the following seven editions: Klášterský (1923), Vladislav (1955), Blaho (1958), Vrchlický and Klášterský (1964), Saudek et.al. (1976), Hron (1986) and Sedlačková (1987). This group of translations is heterogeneous in many ways; they cover a time period of 64 years and belong to two major eras in Czechoslovakia's history. Klášterský's first ever full translation of the sonnets was published in the interwar period during what is now known as the First Czechoslovak Republic, and the remaining six cover the socialist era from Vladislav's earliest 1955 edition all the way to the very last years of the regime, with Hron's and Sedlačková's translations published in 1986 and 1987 respectively. While five editions are the works of individual translators, two are the result of a collaborative process; the 1964 version is based on Vrchlický's 19th century corpus and supplemented with Klášterský's translations, and the 1976 edition compiles the work of seven different translators. Some of these collections were primarily aimed at the poetry-loving layperson, like Hron's version published by *Lyra Pragensis* in an attractive, pocket-sized, leather-bound format gilded with Shakespeare's signature on the cover. Others, like the 1964 edition, were more likely aimed at the academic or specialised readership, as it was

published as one part of a six-volume series of Shakespeare's complete works and was furnished with a large paratextual apparatus about the history and legacy of English Renaissance literature. Another interesting factor is the number of copies of the individual editions that was typically included in the publishing details of every book during the communist regime. The numbers vary from Sedlačková's 1987 version, with a modest 2000 copies, to the most popular of all pre-revolutionary translations from Jan Vladislav, whose fourth reprint published in 1970 counted 170,000 copies. Two of the translators (Blaho and Sedlačková) are Slovak, the rest of them are Czech; Sedlačková is also the only female translator from this group who translated the full sonnet collection[36]. The formal aspects of the translations themselves likewise vary, as some translators adhere to Shakespeare's original pentametric[37] foot throughout the 126 poems, while others resolve to a hexameter[38] in order to compensate for the fact that English has a higher semantic density than Czech and Slovak.

What unifies them from the perspective of this thesis is the fact that they were all published during a time period when male homosexuality was a taboo subject, illegal (until the year 1961) and virtually removed from public discourse. With the exception of Klášterský's translation, they were also all published under the heavy restrictions that the communist regime of socialist Czechoslovakia imposed on book production and were highly likely subjected to censorial control before printing, as described in section 1.4. The following analysis will explore whether and how the subject of same-sex affection was influenced by these formal restrictions in the publishing process and the state-imposed silencing of all matters related to male homosexuality.

8.1.1 QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

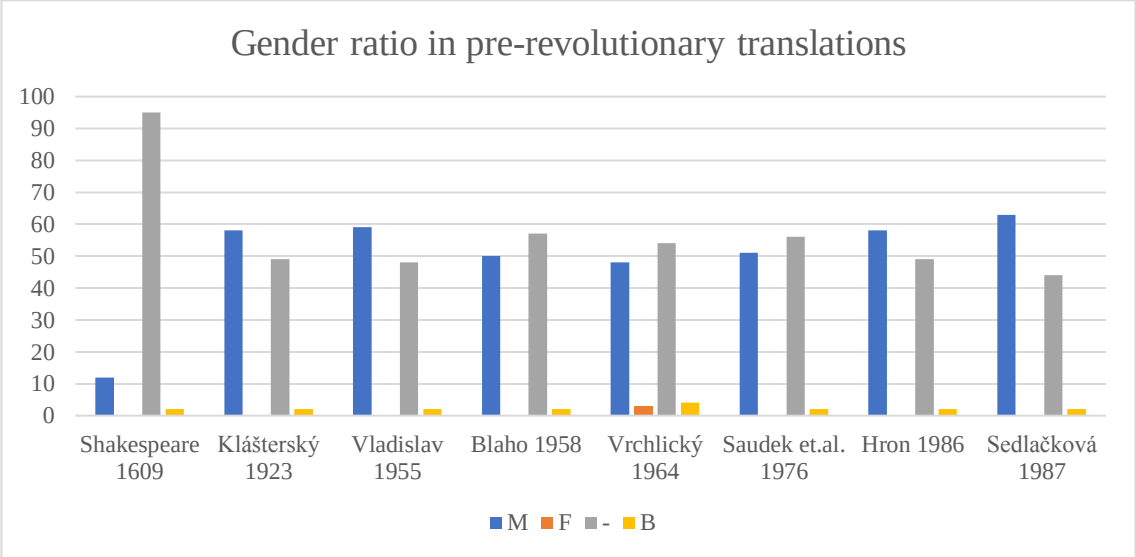
As described in the chapter on methodology, the first part of the corpus analysis consists of a quantitative gender evaluation of the addressee or addressees within the Fair Youth sequence between sonnets 18 and 126. The following table summarises the

[36] Some of the sonnets in the 1976 compilation were translated by another female translator Jarmila Urbánková, already mentioned in Chapter 6.
[37] Klášterský, Vrchlický, Saudek and Hron.
[38] Sedlačková, Blaho and Vladislav – for a detailed analysis of the formal aspects of Czech sonnet translations see Rubáš (2000).

results for the first group of seven pre-revolutionary translators, based on criteria introduced previously.

	M	F	-	B
Shakespeare 1609	12	0	95	2
Klášterský 1923	58	0	49	2
Vladislav 1955	59	0	48	2
Blaho 1958	50	0	57	2
Vrchlický-Klášterský 1964	48	3	54	4
Saudek et.al. 1976	51	0	56	2
Hron 1986	58	0	49	2
Sedlačková 1987	63	0	44	2

The table is complemented with a graph that uses the same colours and acronyms in order to better represent the individual values from the analysis.



The first information immediately visible from both the table and the related graph is the difference in the number of male-addressed sonnets in the translations when compared to Shakespeare's originals. Whereas the English version only contains twelve sonnets that are for the purposes of this work labelled as male-addressed, the seven translations show considerably higher numbers, from Vrchlický's and Klášterský's 48 to Sedlačková's 63. As was explained in section 3.2.1., the grammatical differences between English and Czech or Slovak cause difficulties in

retaining the gender ambiguity of the original collection, which is one of the main reasons why the ratio between the original and the translations is so uneven. What is, however, extremely interesting is the fact that all of these translators assumed that the gendered sonnets in the 18-126 section of the collection are dedicated to a male recipient.

The 1964 translation appears to be the only exception from this rule, as the quantitative analysis shows three female-addressed sonnets and four addressed to both a male and a female recipient. This is easily explained by the circumstances under which this version of the sonnets was published. As already mentioned in section 3.1.1., the edition is based to a large part on an older partial translation from the poet Jaroslav Vrchlický (sonnets 18-107), with the rest (108-126) supplied from the previously published full translation from Antonín Klášterský. Vrchlický's partial translation of the sonnets was collected posthumously and is largely based on a handwritten notebook discovered in 1921 (Vrchlický, 1954:149). While contemporary sources suggest that Vrchlický, who lived between the years 1853 and 1912, planned to publish his version of the sonnets within his lifetime (ibid.), this was never realised, and his translations remain largely at a work-in-progress stage. Vrchlický's fame as one of the the greatest names of Czech Romantic era ensured that his sonnets were published despite the fact that some of them were not finalised. Within the 18-126 section that is the focus of this analysis, there are three female-addressed sonnets (21, 98 and 99), two versions of sonnet 34 (one male-addressed, one female-addressed), two versions of sonnet 87 (both male-addressed) and sonnet 96 that starts as addressed to a woman and changes to a male recipient in the couplet. These inconsistencies strongly suggest that Vrchlický's translations were in some cases exercises in translations where he could try different variations of the same sonnet, and as such were not at the finalised, coherent stage ready for publication. Despite this occasional inclusion of a female-addressed sonnet, the great majority of the collection is still male-addressed, particularly when combined with Klášterský's part of the corpus. The editorial decisions in this publication likewise suggest that the sequence was assumed to be male-addressed. For example, out of the two versions of sonnet 34, the one with a male recipient is printed first as if it were part of the general sonnet narrative, and the female-addressed one is added as a second option with the heading *Jiný překlad*

[Alternative translation], suggesting that the translator was merely experimenting with different options.

Even with Vrchlický's sometimes idiosyncratic translations, the ratio of male-addressed sonnets in translations pre-1989 are on average four to five times higher than in the original sonnet collection. It can be therefore assumed that the translators as well as the editors and possible censors who all contributed into and finally approved the publication of these collections were not attempting to conceal the fact that sonnets in the 18-126 sections are to a great degree dedicated to a male recipient.

8.1.2 QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

The following qualitative analysis will focus on some of the most notable features of the seven pre-revolutionary translations that relate to same-sex affection within the sonnet collection. As the previous four analytical chapters demonstrated, censorship of the elements of same-sex affection and desire in the sonnets can manifest in several different ways. The first method, analysed in Chapter 4 on the example of Miroslav Macek's translation, is to change the ungendered or clearly male recipient into a female one. The quantitative analysis above shows that with the negligibly few cases in Jaroslav Vrchlický's translation, none of the seven versions translate any of the poems in 18-126 section as being female-addressed. The second type of censorship described in Jiří Josek's translation in Chapter 5 concerns a conscious decision to hide the male gender of the recipient. As was shown in this part of the analysis, the inherent gender ambiguity of the English language is difficult to replicate in strongly gendered languages like Czech or Slovak and compels translators to either choose the gender of the recipient or to significantly alter the contents of the poem in order to avoid gendered grammatical variations. The quantitative analysis shows that all seven translators use a significantly higher number of clearly male-addressed sonnets than the English version, suggesting they all chose the first option of assigning a gender to the originally ungendered poems, and all of them presumed that these are addressed to a male recipient. Section 5.5. also showed a conscious attempt to remove those expressions that identify some of the sonnets as male-addressed and render them gender neutral as well. A short comparison of some of the most prominent male

markers from the sonnet collection will demonstrate that none of the seven translators attempted to alter or remove these elements from the sonnets.

8.1.2.1 Translation of male markers

One of the most notable nouns that identify the recipient of the sonnets as being male, and the first unequivocal male marker in the 18-126 corpus, is the opening section of sonnet 26, already discussed in sections 5.5.1. and 7.4.1. The author expresses his complete subservience towards the recipient with the lines *Lord of my love, to whom in vassalage | Thy merit hath my duty strongly knit*, (l.1-2), and in the seven pre-revolutionary translations this opening address is rendered as follows:

Klášterský	***pane*** *mé lásky*	**lord** of my love
Vladislav	***pane*** *lásky mé*	**lord** of my love
Blaho	*ľúbosti mojej* ***pane***	**lord** of my love
Vrchlický	***vladaři*** *mé lásky*	**(m.)monarch** of my love
Saudek et.al.	*milovaný* ***pane***	beloved **lord**
Hron	***Pane*** *mé lásky*	**Lord** of my love
Sedlačková	*Ó milý* ***pane*** *môj*	Oh dear **lord** of mine

While some of the translations differ slightly in their exact renderings of the expression, they all agree on two key points. Firstly, all seven use a clearly masculine noun to denote the recipient of the sonnet. The English word *lord* is most commonly translated into Czech and Slovak as *pán*, which has a wider connotation (also encompassing the English term of address Mr in polite conversation), but which is analogous with the meaning of a person of authority that can stretch from a feudal lord up to the address for the Christian God. As with the English variation of *lord/lady*, Czech and Slovak both have a feminine variation of *pán*, which is *paní* in Czech and *pani* in Slovak. Six out of the seven translators chose the masculine version to translate the original English expression *lord*. The only exception is Vrchlický's choice to use the noun *vladař*, which is closest to the English expression *monarch*. While *monarch* is a gender-neutral term and can apply both to a male or a female person, the Czech expression is masculine in gender and has a feminine variation *vladařka*. The translator again chooses the explicitly masculine form. The importance of these translation

choices can be highlighted through a comparison with Josek's translation of the opening line of sonnet 26 in part 5.5.1, where his decision to remove the reference to a lord or a similarly defined male addressee renders the poem gender-neutral. It is likewise interesting that six out of the seven translations retain to some degree the emotionally charged expression *my love* in the original sonnet, in direct connection with the explicitly male addressee of the poem. Although Sedlačková leaves out the reference to *love*, the adjective *dear* [milý] fills a similar function of expressing emotional attachment from the author towards the recipient.

Another male marker mentioned several times throughout the analysis as well as a case of frequent censorship in English is the expression *sweet boy* in sonnet 108. As the previous examples show, the connection of the masculine noun with the clearly intimate term of endearment offers possibilities for interesting comparisons between the individual translated versions:

Klášterský	*sladký* ***hochu***	sweet **boy**
Vladislav	*milý* ***hochu***	dear **boy**
Blaho	***chlapče*** *môj*	my **boy**
Vrchlický	*sladký* ***hochu***	sweet **boy**
Saudek et.al.	*milý* ***hochu***	dear **boy**
Hron	***hochu***	**boy**
Sedlačková	***drahý*** *môj*	my **(m.)dear**

Six out of the seven translations directly translate the English noun *boy* as the semantically closest expression in Czech (*hoch*, or *hochu* in vocative) or Slovak (*chlapec*, *chlapče* in vocative). Sedlačková's translation opts instead for the use of the nominalised noun *dear* [drahý], however she uses the term in its masculine declination (as opposed to the possible feminine form, *drahá*). The literal translation of *sweet* in Slovak and Czech is *sladký*, but the use of the adjective in connection with a person is somewhat archaic and it is unsurprising that only the oldest translation from the corpus uses it[39]. Vladislav's and Saudek's *dear boy* could be considered as semantically closest to the English text in contemporary use and retains the level of intimacy from the

[39] Sonnet 108 is one of the poems missing from Vrchlický's translations and supplemented in the 1964 edition with Klášterský's 1923 version.

original sonnet. Blaho's *my boy* is marginally less emotionally charged than *dear* or *sweet*, while Hron removes the term of endearment entirely; however all translations address this sonnet with clear romantic elements to a male recipient. None of them attempt to remove the male marker from the expression (Macek's translation in 4.4.4.), remove the expression completely (Urbánková in 6.4.3.), or suggest that the poem is an expression of familial affection (Pinkava in 7.4.2.).

The two sonnets 26 and 108 were used to briefly demonstrate translation strategies of sonnet versions published before 1989 in relation to expressions that confirm the addressee as being clearly male. They were chosen as representative examples that reflect the rest of the corpus of pre-revolutionary translations and further examples were included in individual sonnet analyses in the previous chapters.

8.1.2.2 Love as a verb or adjective – *milovat/milovať*

The following section will turn from the male markers in the sonnets towards the textual clues to the relationship between the author and the recipient. As Chapter 6 on Urbánková demonstrated, even if a translation shows a high ratio of male-addressed sonnets in the quantitative analysis, there is still potential for censorship of the homoerotic elements in the sonnets through an alteration of the type of affection expressed in the poems. While the question of whether the feelings expressed for the beloved are tied to a sexual relationship or purely platonic and friendship-based is one of the most discussed subjects in studies of the collection, the fact remains that the English version leaves open the possibility for both of these interpretations. Chapter 6 showed how subtle contextual shifts can severely limit the potential for a romantic/sensual reading, and instead strongly suggest the friendship-based interpretation. Surprisingly, some of the translations from before the Velvet Revolution choose expressions that make the platonic/purely friendship-based interpretation difficult to a present-day reader.

The first of these examples will concern the translation of the English verb *to love*, which can be translated into Czech and Slovak in a number of different ways. Both languages share the strongest possible variation of the verb which is *milovat* (Czech) or *milovať* (Slovak). This verb, when describing affection towards fellow humans, is used almost exclusively to express strong and passionate feelings between

romantic partners. It can address non-romantic partners but is in that case reserved for particularly formalised or official expressions (the Biblical 'love thy neighbour' is most commonly translated as *miluj blížního svého / miluj blížneho svojho*). It is also worth noting that the reflexive form *milovat se/milovať sa* in the sense of 'love each other' is used similarly to the English expression 'to make love' as a euphemism for sexual intercourse. The Slovak language further has the verb *ľúbiť* which is widely used to express love between friends or family members, and while it can be applied to romantic partners, it generally lacks the element of passion or sexual attraction. The Czech language does not have an equivalent for *ľúbiť*, and instead uses the phrase *mít rád/ráda* for expressing a range of emotions from platonic affection to love towards family members or romantic partners, again without explicit sexual connotations. Slovak, too, has the corresponding expression *mať rád/rada*, however it has a much narrower connotative range than in Czech and is used similarly to the English expression *to like*. Considering these differences, it is particularly interesting that all pre-revolutionary versions translate the verb *love* in some instances as *milovat* or *milovať* within the Fair Youth sequence.

Shakespeare's sonnets, traditionally a medium for amorous poetry, use the verb *love* frequently throughout the whole corpus. Within the Fair Youth part of the collection, this love is most commonly directed from the author of the poems towards the unnamed recipient or recipients, but they sometimes also allude to the love of the addressee for the author of the sonnets. The love of the author is frequently described as humble and unworthy of the attention of the recipient, as can be seen in sonnet 26 opening with the line *Lord of my love* referenced in section 8.1.2.1. The author positions himself into the role of a vassal of this (assumed or real) lord and claims that he must earn the recipient's *sweet respect* (l.12) before expressing the full scope of his feelings. This pledge is expressed in the final couplet:

S.26/13 Then may I dare to boast how I do **love thee**;

Both Klášterský and Saudek render this type of *love* with the verb *milovat*:

Klášterský np *Pak chlubit budu se, jak **miluji tě***
[Then I will boast how **I love you**]
Saudek p.31 *pak troufnu si snad říct, jak **miluji tě***

[then I may dare to say how **I love you**]

The strength of the author's affection is also frequently placed in contrast with the poetry and talents of other poets that seem to compete for the recipient's attention. Sonnet 56 pre-empts the time after the author's death and asks the recipient to read his by then perhaps obsolete poetry while thinking of the author's love, instead of the formal qualities of the verse from other poets. The couplet is imagined as delivered from the future point of view of the recipient.

S.32/14 Theirs for their style I'll read, his for **his love**

In Vladislav's and Hron's translations, the verb with which the author wishes the recipient to call their affection for him becomes *milovat*.

Vladislav *ty čtu pro jejich sloh – a jej, že **miloval***
p.56[40] [them for their style – and his, because he **loved**]
Hron p.45 *je pro styl čtu, jej že **mne miloval***
[them for their style, his because he **loved me**]

The love of the recipient towards the author is often described as the reason for the author's continued existence, as an ultimate proof of his devotion. In sonnet 92, the author imagines a moment where he loses the recipient's love and reassures himself that he would not have to face such a situation as the loss of the beloved's affection would mean his own death. Blaho's translation of this self-destructive poem renders the recipient's love on which the author's life hinges with the verb *milovať*:

S.92/3 And life no longer than thy **love** will stay,
Blaho p.102 *ja žijem dovtedy, dokiaľ ma **miluješ***,
[I live only for as long as you **love me**]

Blaho also uses *milovať* to translate the noun *love* in line 12 of this sonnet, which further confirms the author's fearless approach to his possible end:

S.92/12 Happy to have **thy love**, happy to die!
Blaho p.102 *v šťastí ťa **milovať** a v šťastí zomrieť nemý!*

[40] The page numbers for Vladislav's translations refer to a 1956 reprint of the 1955 first edition from *SNKLHU.*

[to **love you** in happiness and die in happiness, speechless!]

As can be expected from the sonnet form with its highly formalised metrical and rhythmical structure, the individual translations sometimes have to use various semantic alternatives in order to fit into this format. A good example of a slightly modified version of a line that uses the verb *milovat* can be found in sonnet 25 in Vrchlický's translation. The poem claims that the author does not strive for conventional symbols of fortune and success as they are all subject to time and chance, and instead cherishes the love of the recipient which is eternal. Line 13 of this sonnet expresses the author's happiness over this fact:

S.25/13 Then happy I, that **love** and **am belov'd**,

In Vrchlický's translation, the line changes the order of the two expressions of love and inserts the expression *burning with love*, possibly in order to achieve a rhyme in the final couplet:

Vrchlický *Tož šťastný já!* ***Milován***, ***láskou*** *plám*
p.445 [Then happy me! **Loved**, burning with **love**]

Interestingly, the same line is in Klášterský's translation rendered with a double use of the verb *milovat*:

Klášterský *Jak šťasten jsem!* ***miluji milován***
n.p. [How happy I am! (I) **love** (and am) **loved**]

An even larger contextual change can be found in Sedlačková's translation of sonnet 110. As will be visible from the following analysis, Sedlačková's translations frequently alter the exact wording of the original sonnets, and in many cases the exact counterpart for some of her expressions is difficult to identify. In the case of sonnet 110, the author admits that his interests have strayed from the recipient, but claims that these only served to make his affections for the beloved stronger through their contrast, as expressed in lines 7-8:

S.110/7-8 These blenches gave my heart another youth,
And worse essays prov'd **thee my best of love**.

Sedlačková's translation includes a number of semantic shifts, although the main idea of the sonnet remains unaltered.

Sedlačková	*že z ľudí najlepší ty, ktorý ma **miluje**,*
p.252-253[41]	*si stále iba ty, si krásny, dobrý, stály.*
	[that you are best amongst all people, [the one] who **loves me**
	is always only you, you are fair, good, loyal]

Further examples of the use of the verb *milovat* or *milovať* in the pre-revolutionary corpus can be found in Appendix 7.1.

Apart from *milovat* or *milovať* used as a noun, the pre-revolutionary collections also use a range of adjectives derived from the two verbs. A good example is the couplet from the aforementioned sonnet 110 where the author, after straying away from the beloved, admits to his mistakes and returns to his (figurative or literal) waiting arms:

S.110/14	Even to thy pure and most most **loving breast**.

Klášterský's translation renders the expression *loving* as an adjective with the strongest possible emotional charge:

Klášterský	*Na čistou viň mne, **milující hruď***
n.p.	[Nestle me close to your pure, **loving breast**]

This translation was used in Klášterský's original edition from 1923, and later also in the 1964 collected volume where it was substituting sonnets missing in Vrchlický's version (p.493). For further examples of related adjectives, see Appendix 7.3.

Apart from the adjective *milující*, literally meaning 'experiencing a strong affection', the Czech and Slovak languages also offer the adjective *milostný*, most commonly understood as 'relating to a loving and primarily physical relationship'. It is intriguing to see this term used by two translators from the pre-revolutionary era, especially in translation of the same line. Sonnet 23 describes how the sheer strength

[41] The page numbers for Sedlačková's sonnets refer to the 1998 edition from *Nestor*.

of the author's emotions prevents him from adequately expressing his feelings, and *As an unperfect actor on the stage*, (l.1) he temporarily forgets:

S.23/6 The perfect **ceremony of love's rite**,

The original quarto spelling is 'right', however as this was an interchangeable spelling for 'rite', it can be reasonably expected that the intended meaning was *rite* in the sense of a ritual (Blakemore Evans, 1996:136; Duncan-Jones, 1997:156). Both Vladislav and Saudek use the adjective *milostný* in order to describe this expression of deep affection for the recipient of the sonnet:

Vladislav p.47 z *nevíry v sebe svůj* ***milostný rituál***
[out of lack of belief in myself my **loving ritual**]
Saudek p.29 ***milostnou*** *odříkat* ***chvalořeč***
[to recite **loving** words of praise]

While the rest of the pre-1989 translators choose different expressions for this highly emotionally charged sonnet line, they all replicate in some degree the love and depth of affection that can be deduced from the original sonnet (see Appendix 7.9. for a full list of these translations). This is particularly interesting when compared with the translation of Jarmila Urbánková, who minimises the emotional charge of this expression with her translation (section 6.4.2.). Related to these are also further examples of the adjectives *milovaný* [loved, beloved] and *milující/milujúci* [loving], which likewise appear in the pre-revolutionary corpus and that are included in Appendix 7.3.

The previous section focused on examples where the verb *to love* and its derivative adjectives were translated in a way that fully mirrors the intensity of the emotions expressed in the sonnets and suggests that this affection is closer to romantic attraction than to platonic friendship. The following part will move from descriptions of the type of affection expressed towards the person (or persons) addressed in these poems, and to the ways they are referred to within the Fair Youth sequence in individual translations.

8.1.2.3 Person of the beloved – *milý* and related terms

A highly interesting feature of the sonnet collections published before 1989 is their frequent use of the term *milý*. As was already mentioned in sections 4.4.1 and 6.4.3., this noun is a nominalised form of the adjective *milý/á/é* [dear], and is related to the above-mentioned verb *milovat/milovať*. Unlike in English, where the noun *dear* is used as a term of affectionate and informal address similar to *darling*, the Czech and Slovak usage of this word is primarily reserved to denote a person with whom one is in a romantic relationship similar to courtship, usually before official engagement or marriage. Its closest alternative might be the term *boyfriend/girlfriend* in their contemporary use as a semi-formal romantic relationship that might or might not continue towards more official stages. An important aspect of the term is its emphasis on exclusivity and commitment; while the English *dear* can apply to any potentially kind or dear individual, *milý/á* strongly suggests one particular person with whom the speaker is engaged in a romantic, monogamous and committed relationship. *Milý/á* largely disappeared from everyday Czech and Slovak as a specific description of an interpersonal bond in the last few decades, and was replaced by the modern day *přítel/přítelkyně* [(m.)friend/(f.)friend] which directly correspond with *boyfriend/girlfriend*. While the term is not used in everyday life anymore, it still frequently reappears in literature and particularly in poetry.

Given this context and the emphasis on an exclusive, romantic relationship, it is surprising to find the noun in a high number of cases within the pre-revolutionary Fair Youth sequence, particularly as it is always used in its masculine form *milý* (as opposed to the feminine form *milá*). Most frequently, *milý* replaces the English expression *my love*, as can be illustrated by the example of sonnet 101. The author accuses his muse of neglecting to praise truth and beauty, which are both united in the person of the beloved:

S.101/3	Both truth and beauty on **my love** depends;
Klášterský	*I vděk I pravda s **milým mým** se spíná*
n.p.	[both gratitude and truth is linked with my **(m.)dear/lover**]
Vladislav	*Vždyť věrnost s krásou vždy na **milém** závisela*

p.125 [After all fidelity with beauty always depended on **(m.)dear/lover**]

Blaho p.111 *Na **milom** záleží vernosť a krása tiež*
[on **(m.)dear/lover** depends fidelity and beauty too]

Saudek p.113 *Na **milém** věrnost s láskou závisí*
[on **(m.)dear/lover** depends fidelity and love]

Four translators out of the corpus of seven decided to translate the expression *my love* as *milý*, strongly suggesting that the author is referring to a male person with whom he is in an exclusive and possibly romantic relationship. The translation in Saudek's collected work was done by Jarmila Urbánková, and her editorial changes of this line made for a later edition in 1997 are analysed in section 6.4.3. The remaining three translators use similarly emotionally charged expressions; *druhu milém* [dear comrade/partner, Vrchlický], *v mé lásce* [in my love, Hron] and *od lásky priateľa* [from friend's love, Sedlačková].

Apart from the beloved being referred to as *milý* in third person in his presumed absence, the noun also appears as a direct address in poems that speak to the addressee in second person. Sonnet 82 is constructed as one side of a dialogue, where the author admits that the recipient is *not married to my Muse* (l.1) and is therefore free to seek praise from other poets. However, he warns the recipient that while other authors might try to praise them through flattery, only the plain and truthful poetry of the author truly appreciates their beauty. The addressee is encouraged to seek approval from other poets in line 9:

S.82/9 And do so, **love**; yet when they have devis'd,

The line was already mentioned in sections 4.4.4. and 6.4.2. where both Macek and Urbánková remove the address *love* from their translations in order to de-emphasise the romantic implications of the sonnet. The decision is particularly interesting when compared to both Blaho's and Vrchlický's versions:

Blaho p.92 *Len hľadaj, **milý**! A hoci ti vymyslia*
[Then seek, **(m.)dear/lover**! And may they come up with]

Vrchlický *Tak dobře, **milý**! – Nechť jest vykrášlen*
p.480 [Good then, **(m.)dear/lover**! – May he be embellished]

Apart from the translation of the expression *my love*, *milý* appears in the pre-revolutionary corpus also as a replacement for other references to the recipient. Sonnet 126 that closes the traditional Fair Youth sequence reads as the last warning for the recipient that he too is subject to the relentless passage of time, and opens with the line:

S.126/1 O thou, my **lovely boy**, who in thy power

It is one of only two instances where the sonnets refer to the recipient as a *boy* (the other case is sonnet 108 in 8.1.1.), and Hron chooses to replace it with *milý* instead.

Hron p. 145 *Ach, ty můj **milý**, jenž smíš pro svou krásu*
[Oh, you my **(m.)dear/lover**, who is allowed for your beauty]

Interestingly, while the original sonnet does not contain strong romantic overtones and could easily be interpreted as a warning of an older man towards a younger acquaintance against taking his youth and beauty for granted, Hron's translation clearly shifts the narrative from friendly towards the romantic. Further examples of the noun *milý* in the pre-1989 corpus can be found in Appendix 7.4.

Another interesting phenomenon reappearing in the pre-revolutionary corpus is the use of the term *milý* without an apparent counterpart in the original sonnet. The reason for this insertion seems to be in the majority of the cases the rhyming requirements of the sonnet form, particularly if we take into consideration that verbs in past plural form in both Slovak and Czech use the suffix declination *lý/ly/li*, allowing for a variety of rhyming options. This is further supported by the fact that it is a two-syllable word that is relatively easily inserted without introducing any new thematic elements. A compelling example of this phenomenon can be found in translations of sonnet 78, where the author describes how he has celebrated the recipient in his poems so often that many other poets have copied his efforts and are now describing them with their own poetry. The sonnet starts with the following verses:

S.78/1-4 So oft have I invoked thee for my **Muse**,
And found such fair assistance in my **verse**
As every alien pen hath got my **use**

And under thee their poesy **disperse**.

The four lines, following the typical Elizabethan sonnet structure, use the ABAB scheme with rhymes in *Muse/use* and *verse/disperse*. Vladislav renders these four lines in his Czech translation from 1955 in the following way (p.102):

*Tolikrát vzýval jsem tě jako Musu, **milý**,*
a tys mi při psaní tak dobře pomáhal
*že také ostatní to po mně **učinili***
a pod tvou ochranou teď píší verše dál
[So often did I worship you as a Muse, **(m.)dear/lover**,
and you helped me so well with the writing
that others too have **acted** in the same way
and now continue writing verse under your protection]

In order to find a rhyme for the verb *učinili* (past plural form of *učinit*, to do, to act or to undertake) at the end of line three, Vladislav inserts the noun *milý* into the first line of the sonnet, without an apparent counterpart in the original poem. The same lines in a Slovak translation from Blaho's 1958 version are rendered as follows (p.86):

Kým teba vzýval som jak múzu oddane,
*piesne mi posilu z prameňov tvojich **pili**,*
že napodobňujú ma perá ostatné
*pod tvojou ochranou spievajú ďalej, **milý.***
[While I worshipped you faithfully as a muse
my songs **drank** strength from your springs,
so that other pens copy me now
under your protection they sing on, **(m.dear/lover**).

Where Vladislav was using *milý* in line 1 in order to achieve a rhyme in line 3, Blaho applies the same strategy to retain a rhyme in lines 2 and 4. Using a metaphor of a well of inspiration from which the author's songs derive strength for their description of the recipient, Blaho ends line 2 with the verb *pili*, which is again a past plural form of the verb *piť* [to drink], and adds *milý* in line 4 to provide the requisite rhyme. It is important to note that the original sonnet does not refer to the recipient

with any terms of endearment (*my love, beloved* etc.) nor with any other expression that would necessitate the insertion of the term *milý*, either directly or as a substitution for another instance where such an expression had to be left out. Likewise interesting is that this sonnet is gender neutral in its original version, and both Blaho and Vladislav directly assign it a male recipient through their use of the term *milý*. There are other examples of this rhyming strategy within the pre-1989 corpus (see Appendix 7.6.), especially in the work of Anna Sedlačková who uses rhymes with *milý* and its declinations in seven instances within the 18-126 corpus.

Further examples of vocabulary connected with romantic connotations within the pre-revolutionary poems include frequent use of the term *miláčik* (Slovak) or *miláček* (Czech). This noun, again derived from the verb *milovat/milovať*, functions as a term of endearment used generally between romantic partners, similar to the term *sweetheart* in English. It can also signalise strong preference, like the English noun *favourite*, or, like *milý*, denote an unspecified significant other. The noun is again of masculine gender. *Miláček* appears in two translations of sonnet 72, where the author imagines time after his death and envisions a situation when the recipient will be asked *What merit lived in me, that you should love* (l.2). In order to prevent the recipient from admitting that he had loved something as unworthy as the author perceives himself, he asks the recipient to forget all about him, should such a situation arise. This is requested in line 3:

S.72/3 After my death (**dear love**) forget me quite,

The brackets around *dear love* are part of the original quarto edition, as well as of the modern transcription from Duncan-Jones (1997:255) that is used as the main point of reference for this work. A number of other versions of the sonnets separate the expression with commas (Mowat & Werstine, 2004:149; Rowse, 1984:146, amongst others). Jan Vladislav's and Jaroslav Vrchlický's versions render the expression in the following way:

Vladislav	*až umřu, **miláčku**, zapomeňte hned*
p.96	[when I die, **sweetheart**, forget immediately]
Vrchlický	*i v smrti, **miláčku**, na mne zapomeň*
p.476	[Also in death, **sweetheart**, forget about me]

Both translators choose *miláčku*, the vocative form of the noun *miláček*. This expression renders the originally gender-neutral sonnet decidedly masculine, while retaining the level of intimacy expressed in the sonnet. It is also worth mentioning that two other translators from the pre-revolutionary corpus (Saudek and Blaho) translate this usage of *dear love* as *milý* (see Appendix 7.4. for these examples and Appendix 7.8. for further cases where translators use the noun *miláček*).

One last example of a keyword related to romantic love is the translation of the term *lover*, which is arguably the most romantically and/or erotically charged expression used within the sonnet corpus. Shakespeare refers to himself in relation to the recipient as *lover* only in one instance in sonnet 32. In a scenario closely resembling the above-mentioned sonnet 72, the author envisages the day *When that churl Death my bones with dust shall cover* (l.2) and the recipient will be left *These poor rude lines of thy deceased lover,* (l.4). It is highly interesting to see that two translations from the pre-revolutionary corpus decide to translate this keyword in its most common contemporary meaning.

S.32/4	These poor rude lines of thy deceased **lover**,
Vladislav	*o tyto veršíky po mrtvém **milovníku***
p.56	[of these verses after a dead **lover**]
Blaho p.38	*na veršík mŕtveho **milenca**, zlý a chudý*
	[onto the verse (from the) dead **lover**, bad and poor]

Both *milovník* (Czech) and *milenec* (Slovak) denote exclusively a male romantic partner, both before 1989 and in contemporary use, and, as in the case of the English noun *lover*, they strongly suggest the possibility of a sexual relationship. Vladislav's and Blaho's are the only translations using this word in the whole corpus of fifteen translations, and it is particularly striking that both of these versions were published in the first decade of the communist rule in former Czechoslovakia as some of the earliest versions of the sonnets available to the general public. Urbánková's 1997 translation of this sonnet, which leaves out the expression completely, was already analysed in section 6.4.2.

The first part of this chapter offered a brief overview of the seven translations published before the Velvet Revolution of 1989, focusing on the quantitative gender

ratio of the sonnets, the presence of male markers in translation, and the relationship between the author and the recipient or recipients of the poems. These analyses show that translations conducted before the regime change demonstrate no discernible attempts to either hide the male gender of the addressee, or to alter or conceal the potentially romantic affection of the author towards the recipient (and vice versa). Furthermore, the high ratio of male-addressed sonnets when compared with the original English collection, as well as the frequent use of nouns, verbs and adjectives associated with romantic affection or committed relationships, could be seen as emphasising the element of same-sex affection in the poems or enhancing the possibilities for such a reading among the target readers. The following section will complement these results with four of the translations conducted after the regime change in 1989, following the same structural approach as was introduced above.

8.2 POST-1989 TRANSLATORS

The second part of this chapter will provide the analysis of the final four translations: those of Hodek (1995), Hilský (1997), Feldek (2001) and Uličný (2005). As with the previous group of pre-revolutionary sonnets, the four translations in this section are diverse in many aspects. Three of the translators are Czech, one – Feldek – is Slovak. While Hilský's highly successful and well-known translation was republished in three different publishing houses in the years 1997, 2004 and 2010 and is still frequently available in Czech and Slovak bookstores, Hodek's 1995 edition was published in a print run of 2000 copies and never reprinted again[42]. Hodek and Uličný both build on an existing partial translation of the sonnet collection originally prepared for the collaborative edition of 1976; Hodek had contributed with thirteen translations, Uličný with seventeen. Given the editorial changes that can be traced in Urbánková's full version of the sonnets that was likewise based on the 1976 translation (see section 6.4.3.), it is particularly interesting to see the extent of changes in Uličný's and Hodek's translations. Uličný's 2005 version shows occasional small-scale shifts that aim to achieve a smoother reading of the poems or to perfect the rhyming structure, but they do not interfere with or alter the semiotic values of the individual sonnets, nor

[42] Hodek's 1995 translation is the only post-1989 edition that includes information about print run numbers.

do they in any way change the potential for a homoerotic reading. Hodek's 1995 translation did not undergo any editorial changes, with the exception of capitalisation of personal pronouns that the translator himself mentions in his afterword (p.181).

While both Hodek and Uličný mention in paratext that they primarily wanted to complete a project that they started several decades ago, Feldek's and Hilský's translations are part of a much larger enterprise. Although their professional backgrounds are different (Hilský is an acclaimed professor of English literature at Charles University in Prague, Feldek is one of Slovakia's most celebrated authors and poets), they both undertook the monumental task of translating all of Shakespeare's complete works into their respective languages, Czech and Slovak. The sonnets in both cases were designed as one part of this larger series, which is apparent both in their physical format and in the overall translation strategies. Hilský's highly academic approach to Shakespeare's work is reflected in the rich paratextual apparatus with which he furnishes his editions of the plays, and he follows the same format in his edition of the sonnets. Feldek, on the other hand, is famous for his playful and informal approach to Shakespeare's theatrical works that is sometimes criticised for an excessive use of wordplay and expressive language, particularly in the case of the tragedies (Vilikovský, 2014:209), and this trademark feature is visible in his translation of the sonnets as well.

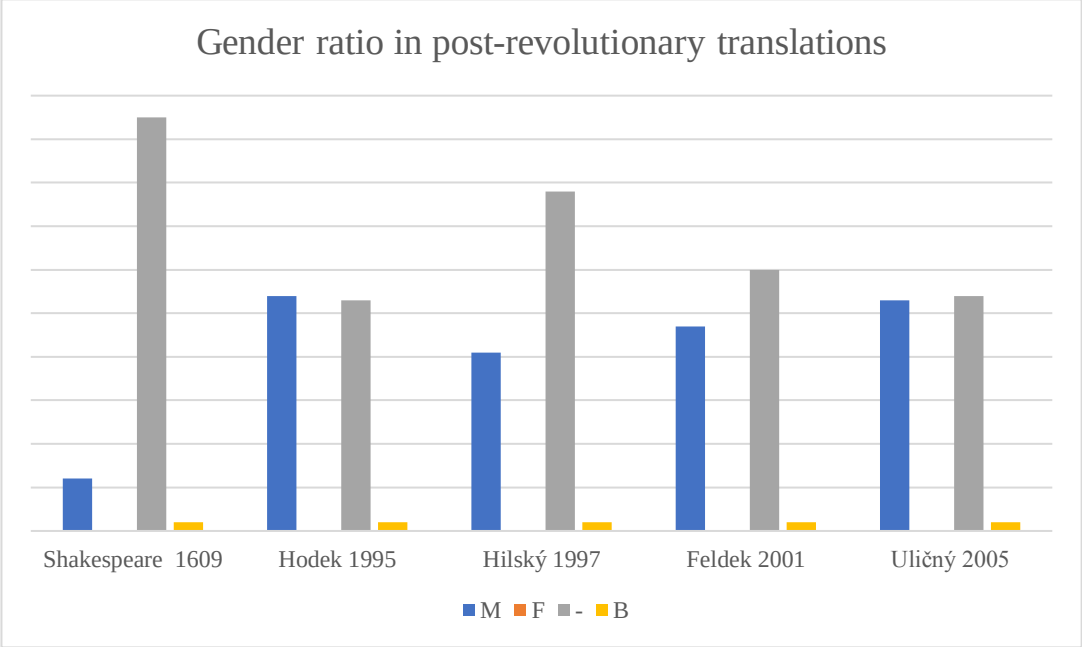
While the translators and their methods of translation of the sonnets differ in many aspects, the following analysis shows that their approach to the subject of same-sex affection in the Fair Youth sequence is similar enough for them to be considered as one homogeneous group, particularly when compared with the four other post-revolutionary translators analysed in chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7.

8.2.1 QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

As in the previous section, the first part of the corpus analysis consists of a quantitative investigation of the gender of the recipient or recipients in the sonnets 18-126. The results are again rendered into the form of a table, where the gender of the recipients is colour coded as male (blue, M), female (orange, F), ungendered (grey, -), or both male and female recipient (yellow, B).

	M	F	-	B
Shakespeare 1609	12	0	95	2
Hodek 1995	54	0	53	2
Hilský 1997	41	0	78	2
Feldek 2001	47	0	60	2
Uličný 2005	53	0	54	2

The results are also presented in a graph with corresponding colours, with the translations ordered chronologically by the date of their first publication.



Firstly, the graph and the table both show that none of the four translators in question considered any of the 109 poems within this section to be explicitly dedicated to a female recipient, in a marked contrast with the 1992 translation from Macek in section 4.3. Sonnets dedicated to both a male and a female recipient appear twice in all cases, mirroring Shakespeare's original version; all of these refer to sonnets 41 and 42, as can be seen in the more comprehensive table containing information on individual sonnets in Appendix 3. This leaves the remaining 107 sonnets to be divided between male-addressed ones and those that do not explicitly mention or imply the gender of their recipient. It is immediately apparent that the numbers of male-addressed sonnets resemble the results of the quantitative analysis of the pre-revolutionary corpus, as they are all four to five times higher than the original twelve

male-addressed sonnets in Shakespeare's version. Hilský's translation with forty-one male-addressed sonnets has the lowest ratio amongst both of these groups, and, interestingly, this number decreases with further re-editions of this highly popular translation of the collection. This is explained by the translator himself in an afterword of his 2012 edition:

> This translation again attempts to be faithful to Shakespeare and where the addressee of a sonnet is decidedly a man, he remains a man also in the Czech translation. Where the original addressee is a woman, the translation retains this gender specification. And where the English original is ambiguous, the translation too attempts to be ambivalent. This attempt is, for aforementioned reasons, frequently on the very verge of the feasible. The difference between the two languages is such that it is impossible to achieve the same level of gender ambiguity in Czech as in English. In the third edition, the Czech text of several sonnets was adjusted so that they remain ambiguous when it comes to the gender of the addressee. (Hilský, 2012:397)

Hilský then proceeds to list the twelve[43] sonnets that underwent this change with the second and third edition, which lowers the ratio of male addressed sonnets to the number 29 in this last edited translation. While Hilský's translation strategy resembles Josek's (Chapter 5) in his occasional attempts to retain the original gender ambiguity, it is important to note that the ratio of male-addressed sonnets in this updated version is still significantly higher than the number in the original collection (12) or Josek's (8). Moreover, Hilský's translation does not show any attempts to render originally male-addressed sonnets as gender neutral, as is the case in Josek's translation[44]. For these reasons, Hilský's translation strategy is not considered to be an attempt at limiting the potential for a homoerotic reading through a de-gendering of the sonnets and is therefore not a censorial strategy. This will be further confirmed in the following qualitative analysis.

[43] Sonnets 45, 55, 89, 90, 92 and 96 in second edition, sonnets 35, 36, 58, 71, 72 and 117 in third edition.
[44] The only exception to this is sonnet 19, as can be seen from the detailed analysis in Appendix 3.

8.2.2 QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

As the approach towards the homoeroticism in the sonnets is comparable with the pre-revolutionary group, the method for qualitative analysis will follow the same pattern as the one introduced in the previous part of this chapter. As in section 8.1.2.1, it will firstly illustrate the use of male markers on examples from sonnets 26 and 108.

8.2.2.1 Translation of male markers

The first part of a brief overview that is aimed at exemplifying the use of decidedly male nouns in the original poetry selection is the first line of sonnet 26, *Lord of my love, to whom in vassalage*. As explained, this is one of the few instances where Shakespeare chooses to use a clearly masculine noun that also has a feminine option in English (*lady* in this case), instead of a variety of gender-neutral terms with similar connotations that the English language offers (*monarch, ruler, sovereign* etc.). The four translators considered within this section translate the expression *Lord of my Love* in the following ways:

Hodek	*Tvou výborností,* ***pane***	[by] Your excellentness, **lord**
Hilský	***Pane*** *mé lásky*	**Lord** of my love
Feldek	***pane*** *mojej lásky*	**lord** of my love
Uličný	***Pane*** *mé lásky*	**Lord** of my love

Hilský, Feldek and Uličný use the most predictable translation for the expression, closely following the wording of the original and repeating almost verbatim the translations of Klášterský, Vladislav and Hron from the previous section. Hodek applies a slightly different strategy[45], using a nominalised form of the adjective *výborný* [excellent] as the focus of the line instead of the originally mentioned vassalage, however the key translation of the noun *lord* remains translated as the decidedly masculine expression *pane* [lord].

[45] The full line of Hodek's sonnet 26 is: 'Tvou výborností, pane, byl jsem jat' [By your excellentness, lord, I was captured]; the slightly unusual word 'excellentness' was chosen to avoid confusion with the English word *excellency*, which has a different connotative range than just 'the act or state of being excellent'.

The second example is taken from the fifth line of sonnet 108, *Nothing, sweet boy; but yet, like prayers divine*, which contains another indication of a male recipient and that could be considered more problematic than *lord*. The expression *sweet boy* is by many readers interpreted as an admission of a significantly younger addressee of the sonnets and opens questions about the possibility of someone considered underage by contemporary legal standards, which resulted in the various forms of censorship mentioned in sections 1.1.1., 4.4.4., 6.4.3., and 7.4.2. The four translators approached the expression in the following way:

Hodek	***lásko***	**love**
Hilský	***Chlapče můj milý***	My dear **boy**
Feldek	*Milý* ***chlapče***	Dear **boy**
Uličný	***hochu***	**boy**

Hilský and Feldek both render the noun *boy* with its semantically closest counterpart (*hoch*, vocative case *hochu* in Czech and *chlapec*, vocative case *chlapče* in Slovak), and the adjective *sweet* as *milý* [dear], a strategy previously seen in Vladislav's and Saudek's translations. As explained, given the archaic connotation of *sladký* as a direct translation of *sweet*, this can be considered the closest Czech and Slovak variation of the expression. Uličný, as Hron in 1986, uses just the keyword *hochu* (vocative for *hoch*, [boy]), which removes some of the intimacy in the original expression but does not alter the fact that the sonnet is formally addressed to both a person of masculine gender and of presumably youthful age. Hodek's translation deviates from this strategy, similarly to Sedlačková's in 8.1.2.1, and instead of the gendered *boy* he uses the neutral expression *láska* [*love*, again in vocative case]. While this could initially appear as an attempt to conceal the male recipient from this poem, line 7 in Hodek's translation clearly confirms the gender of the recipient as being male with a declination of the personal pronoun *mine* (*jsi* ***můj****, já Tvůj, nic zastaralé není* [you are **(m.)mine**, I yours, nothing is outdated]). The sonnet remains clearly dedicated to a male recipient, and the only adjustment is Hodek's decision to replace *boy* with *love*. While this could have been done either in order to lessen the problematic impact of the noun *boy* or for other reasons like prosody or rhythmical structure, it does not limit the potential for the sonnet to be read as an amorous poem from a man to another

man and therefore cannot be considered an attempt at censorship of the homoerotic elements in the collection.

As this short overview with several chosen examples, together with other comparisons included in the previous parts of the analysis, shows, none of the four translators actively conceals or removes the masculine elements from the original sonnet collection. The following section will look further into the more ambiguous parts of the English version, through the previously introduced analysis of the Czech and Slovak verbs *milovat/milovať* and other keywords derived from them.

8.2.2.2 Love as a verb or adjective – *milovat/milovať*

As in the previous section, the focus of this part is the love and affection expressed between the author and the recipient of the poems, as well as the terms of endearment connected with this love and affection. This method was chosen to demonstrate the sonnets' inclusion into the narrative of amorous poetry and in particular to highlight the differences with the translation of Urbánková in chapter 6, whose strategies shift the interpretative options of the sonnets towards the platonic and friendship-based. Following the structure introduced in the previous section, the first point of this qualitative enquiry will be the use of the verb *milovat* (Czech) or *milovať* (Slovak). This keyword occurs widely within the post-revolutionary corpus, as can be illustrated by the example of sonnet 72, already mentioned in part 8.1.2.3. The author's concern that the recipient will be accused of being attached to an unworthy object after the author's death is expressed with the verb *love* in line 2:

S.72/2 What merit lived in me, that you should **love**

Hodek's translation modifies the line slightly by focusing directly on the author's worthiness and virtues that are loved by the recipient, instead of the author that is loved due to his merits. However, the translator's choice of the highly emotionally charged verb *milovat* clearly suggests a romantic relationship between the author and the recipient:

Hodek p.88 *jakou mou přednost Vy jste* ***miloval***
[which one of my virtue did You **love**]

The sonnet reiterates the assertion that the recipient should not admit to loving the author after his death in the final line of the couplet:

S.72/14 And so should you, to **love** things nothing worth.

This line is rendered by Hilský and Feldek in the following way:

Hilský *že tohle málo tolik **miluješ**.*
p. 227[46] [that you **love** this little so much]
Feldek p.93[47] *hanbi sa, že tú nulu **miluješ**.*
[shame on you, that you **love** that nothing]

Both Hilský and Feldek affirm the emotions of the recipient towards the author as decidedly romantic in its connotation with their use of second person present tense declination *miluješ*, identical in both Slovak and Czech. Interestingly, both translators use the same rhyme in this couplet, with the adverb *též* and *tiež* [too, also] rhyming with the declination of *milovat*. The two translations also juxtapose the different translation styles of Hilský and Feldek; Feldek's use of the colloquial expression *nula* [lit. zero] gives the line a decidedly less formal impression than Hilský's traditional rendering of the verse. It is also necessary to point out that all three translators that choose to use *milovat* in this sonnet clearly identify the recipient as male, further confirming that the expressions of romantic love between two men are in this case not subjected to any overt censorship.

As in the previous section, *milovat* sometimes replaces the noun *love* in the original sonnet collection, as can be shown by Uličný's translation of sonnet 88. Here, the author attempts to deal with the recipient's rejection by claiming that freeing them from any association with the author's faults will make them both happy (*Doing thee vantage, double-vantage me*, l.12). The sonnet's couplet affirms the author's love and devotion:

S.88/13 Such is my **love**, to thee I so belong,
Uličný *Tak **miluji** tě, tak ti náležím*

[46] The page numbers for Hilský's sonnets refer to his 2012 re-edition from *Atlantis*.
[47] The page numbers for Feldek's sonnets refer to the 2007 re-edition from *Ikar*.

p.101[48] [I **love** you so, I belong to you so much]

This famous line, used by Joseph Pequigney as the title of his book that attempted one of the first analyses of the sonnets as a collection of decidedly homoerotic poetry (1985, mentioned in section 1.1.1.), is in Uličný's translation rendered with the use of the verb *milovat* instead of the original noun *love*. As mentioned, *milovat* is one of several possible options to declare affection in Czech and Slovak, and it is the one choice that suggests the strongest and most positively romantic bond between the participants. Blaho, too, uses this verb in his own rendition of the couplet in sonnet 88 (see Appendix 7.2.).

The derived adjectives *milovaný* [beloved] or *milujúci/milující* [loving] likewise reappear in the post-revolutionary corpus. Using the example of sonnet 110 from part 8.1.2.2., Hodek's translation of the expression *loving breast* closely resembles Klášterský's translation strategy.

S.110/14 Even to thy pure and most most **loving** breast.
Hodek p.130 *a přiviň mě na **milující** hruď*
[and hold me close to your **loving** breast]

The intimacy of the imagery, with the author being held close to the (male) recipient's chest, is further heightened through the use of the adjective that clearly identifies the feelings of the addressee towards the author as being strong and ardent. For further uses of these adjectives see Appendix 7.3.

The selected representative examples together with the rest of the qualitative analysis in the appendix show that the use of the verbs and adjectives related to strong and primarily romantic affection is present in the post-revolutionary corpus in the same way as it is in the pre-revolutionary one. The following part will, as in the previous section, turn towards the use of the noun *milý*.

8.2.2.3 Person of the beloved – *milý* and related terms

The term *milý* occupies an interesting position in translations published after the year 1989, which is tied with the fact that, as was mentioned previously, the term

[48] The page numbers for Uličný's sonnets refer to the 2015 edition from *Nová Vlna*.

has been slowly growing out of daily use in both the Czech Republic and Slovakia. The inclusion of *milý* after 1989 becomes not only a signifier of a committed romantic relationship between the participants, but also adds an archaic aspect to the poetry collection. To use the terminology of James Holmes and his pioneering work on poetry translation, the work as a result shifts on a cross-temporal axis (Holmes, 1988:35). A qualitative analysis of the four post-revolutionary translations shows interesting results in relation to this keyword. The only translator who regularly uses *milý* throughout his version is Feldek; the translations from Hilský, Uličný and Hodek do not use the term *milý* anywhere within the analysed 18-126 corpus of poems[49]. Instead of this term, translators frequently render expressions like *my love* as the more literal translation *moje/moja láska* [my love] or use other means to express the closeness suggested in the original poems. A good example is line 3 from sonnet 101 that was introduced in the previous section 8.1.2.3., which shows four pre-revolutionary translators render *my love* as *milý*:

S.101/3	Both truth and beauty on **my love** depends;
Hodek p.119	*Pravda a krása z **lásky mé** se dívá*
	[Truth and beauty looks out of **my love**]
Hilský p.101	***Má láska** je přec obojí, jak víš*
	[**My love** is after all both, as you know]
Feldek p.121	*V **milom** sa pravda s krásou stretáva*
	[In **my (m.)dear/lover** meets truth and beauty]
Uličný p.115	*Vždyť obě na tom, **s nímž mě pojí cit***
	[After all both in that, **with (m.)whom my feelings bind me**]

Hodek and Hilský both translate *my love* as *láska* or *má láska* [love or my love], which is the semantically closest option in relation to the original verse. Uličný chooses a longer expression that focuses on the emotion connecting the author and the recipient instead of the direct address *my love*, and refers to somebody with whom the author is bound through their shared feelings. This translation also confirms the addressee of the sonnet as being decidedly male, while *láska* can apply to a male or

[49] With the exception of Hilský's translation of sonnet 20 where it could be perceived as an adjective, see Appendix 7.5.

a female recipient (see section 4.4.2.). Feldek is the only translator who follows in the footsteps of pre-revolutionary translators and renders the expression as *milý*.

Feldek's use of the noun is frequent throughout the whole corpus, and extends, as in some of the pre-revolutionary cases, to its use without an obvious counterpart in the English original. Sonnet 34 (see section 5.4.2.), which ends with a couplet where the author forgives the beloved for their unspecified betrayal, is originally devoid of a direct address of the recipient:

S.34/13 Ah! but those tears are pearl which thy love sheds,

In Feldek's translation, this unnamed recipient is identified as *milý*:

Feldek p.54 *Ty plačeš,* ***milý****? Stráca sa môj smútok*
[You cry, **(m.)dear/lover**? My sadness disappears]

Feldek's decision to include the archaic term *milý* into his sonnets can be seen as a part of a broader strategy used in all of his translations of Shakespeare's work. This can be easily illustrated by the fact that Feldek's translation of Shakespeare's most famous romantic tragedy *Romeo and Juliet* uses the term thirteen times, eight times in its feminine form *milá* and five times in masculine form *milý* (Feldek, 2009). He also frequently includes regional colloquialisms and specific vocabulary from traditional Slovak folklore, poetry and songs that likewise use the term *milý*. His translator's note in the afterword to his 2007 reprint of the sonnets explains his own approach to Shakespeare's language as follows:

> Shakespeare is an educated poet and a number of his allusions appear scholarly – but those allusions were in their time and in certain circles part of daily conversations. The use of the colloquial also always means some sort of return to old sayings, to elemental observations, to natural folk wisdom and humour. (2007:197)

It is of course impossible to ascertain Feldek's reasons for the inclusion of the term *milý* into his translation in a way that stands out so markedly compared to other translations published around the same time period, and as always, the reasons might include personal taste and a preference for particular translation strategies. The fact remains that Feldek's translation, as in the editions published before 1989, opens the

possibility to read the relationship between the author and the recipient as committed, monogamous and decidedly romantic. On the other hand, the fact that the rest of the translators do not include the keyword *milý* into their translations is not on its own symptomatic of an attempt at censorship. It is important to remember that *milý* most frequently replaces the term *my love*, and the most direct, literal and contemporary translation of this expression is *moje/moja láska*. From this perspective, the translations of Hodek, Hilský and Uličný could be seen as following the original even more closely than the pre-revolutionary translations.

8.3 CHAPTER REVIEW

The last chapter of the analytical part of this thesis provided an overview of the remaining eleven translations within this corpus that finally complete the full picture of Czechoslovak sonnet versions published in the past hundred years. Their largely homogeneous approach to the subject of same-sex affection within the Fair Youth sequence also serves as a contrast to the previous four translators introduced in chapters 4 to 7. As this work aims to provide an overview embedded in historical and socio-political circumstances, the analysis was divided following two major eras in Czechoslovakia's history, the time period before and after the Velvet Revolution of 1989. While the analysis of these eleven translations was necessarily less detailed than in the previous parts, it followed the same two step strategy outlined in section 3.2. of the methodology chapter. The quantitative analysis of both the pre-and post-revolutionary translations shows that the number of male-addressed sonnets in the Fair Youth sequence is significantly higher than in the original English collection, ranging from Hilský's 41 to Sedlačková's 63. The linguistic differences between English and Slovak or Czech makes this gendering a predictable and understandable strategy, particularly if we consider the long-standing tradition to read the Fair Youth sequence as being dedicated to a male recipient, which is information that would have been available to translators and Shakespearean scholars even during the times of the strictest informational embargo on Western scholarships. However, the result of this translation strategy is still the fact that all of the eleven translations in this group have a decidedly more pronounced male recipient than the original English version, which only uses clear male markers in twelve of the analysed sonnets.

The qualitative analysis focused both on contrasting the eleven translations with features encountered in chapters 4-7 and on some of the translation patterns found in this group that pertains to the possible homoerotic affection in the collection. While the first part briefly demonstrated that some of the most prominent male markers from the collection are in both the pre- and post-1989 group, translated in a way that does not obscure the masculine element in these expressions, the rest of the qualitative analysis turned towards the type of relationship (or relationships) described in the Fair Youth sequence. The first keyword chosen for this was *milovat* or *milovať*, which in both Czech and Slovak represents the most emotionally charged verb for expressing affection while also carrying a strong connotation of a romantic relationship between the speakers. As the analysis shows, *milovať* and *milovať* is frequently used throughout the corpus of both pre-revolutionary and post-revolutionary translations that were the focus of this chapter and is used to describe both the love of the author for the recipient and vice versa. A number of adjectives related to this verb were also found represented in the eleven translations, further strengthening the passionate language permeating the Czech and Slovak translations. The presence of these keywords strongly suggests that neither the pre-1989 translators nor the four selected post-1989 ones were attempting to diminish the potential for a romantic reading of the poems or shift the interpretative potential towards the platonic. This is particularly interesting when compared with the translation of Urbánková in chapter 6, whose translation strategy seems to aim at the opposite end of the spectrum, as she deliberately limits the interpretative options of the sonnets to the platonic and friendship-based.

The second part of the qualitative analysis focused on the use of the keyword *milý*. As explained, this nominalised adjective is used both in Czech and in Slovak to denote a person with whom the speaker is in a committed relationship, typically before the official stages of engagement or marriage. Considering its romantic connotations, it is highly interesting to see its frequent use within the Fair Youth sequence, particularly as the masculine form of the noun (as opposed to the feminine *milá* in Macek's case), suggests that this semi-formal bond was formed between the male author and his equally male recipient. The noun is used as a translation for a number of different expressions, most commonly the address of the recipient as *love* or related terms (*dear love*, *sweet love* etc.). It is necessary to note that the Slovak and Czech

language both can translate these expressions literally as *láska/lásko*, which suggest that the translators again had a choice to avoid this term. Equally interesting is the fact that the term *milý* also appears in Czech and Slovak translations without any discernible counterpart in the English versions, in some cases clearly to achieve a rhyme. The use of *milý* diminishes after the Velvet Revolution of 1989 and only one of the four translators – Ľubomír Feldek – uses it regularly both in his sonnets and in his translations of Shakespeare's plays. This decision can be largely ascribed to the fact that the word fell out of daily use and was presumably considered too archaic to be included in a modern sonnet translation.

The overall results of this chapter then suggest that both the seven translations conducted before the Velvet Revolution and the four published after these socio-political changes not only open the space for a queer reading of the sonnets but could even be seen as emphasising the possibility. Part of this is due to the linguistic differences between the source and target languages, and part due to the clearly amorous language that the collections use throughout the Fair Youth corpus. While the four post-revolutionary translations could be seen as representing only one of several different approaches towards the sonnets as they were published alongside the versions mentioned in chapters 4-7, the pre-1989 corpus is remarkable through its unanimous and consistent approach towards the sonnets. In particular, the use of the noun *milý* throughout these eleven translations appears counterintuitive, given the fact that homoerotic attraction was an element frequently censored from literature as well as being a taboo subject in public discourse. In order to find an explanation for this perhaps paradoxical occurrence, it is necessary to consider these translations in their wider socio-political context and consider how a term like *milý* could be understood in the discursive structures of socialist Czechoslovakia. As was described in section 1.3.2., homosexuality was seen as predominantly part of the sexual and/or medical discourse during the communist period, and media as well as the general public lacked representations of two men or two women in a romantic, committed relationship. Within a society that lacks the very conceptualisation of two men in a romantic relationship with each other, it is plausible that the noun *milý* as it is used within the highly stylised language of the sonnet would not be seen as symptomatic of homoerotic attraction. While there are no studies that would offer a detailed analysis of the shifting

understanding of this term and therefore no direct way to verify this theory, I suggest that within the homosocially-structured socialist society, the term *milý* used from a man to another man would be ascribed to the strong, passionate bond between two comrades rather than to the sexualised and ostracised strangeness of homosexuality. This is not to suggest that there were not readers who interpreted the sonnets as collections of homoerotic poetry and that perhaps recognised their own feelings in Shakespeare's words. But the frequent and repeated presence of the noun in its masculine form throughout all seven pre-revolutionary translations suggests that the term was, at least in the view of the general public and the official eyes of the censor, seen as compliant with the ideological boundaries of the regime. This theory will be further developed in the following conclusion that will synthesise and evaluate the overall results from the five preceding chapters and contextualise the findings within the theoretical frameworks chosen for this thesis.

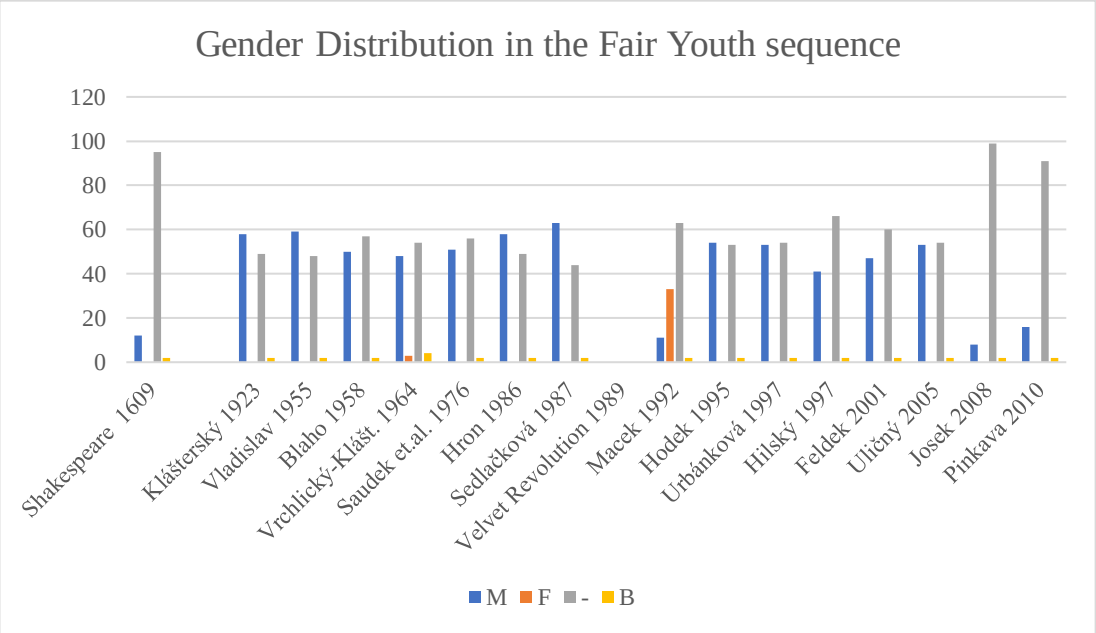
9 CONCLUSION

9.1 OVERVIEW OF RESULTS

While the individual conclusions to chapters 4 to 8 discussed partial results within their socio-political frameworks, the aim of this thesis is to identify shifting trends that only become visible once the individual analytical parts create a complete picture embedded in its historical continuum. The following section will incorporate all fifteen results from both the quantitative and qualitative evaluations and then discuss these results within the historical and socio-political context from Chapter 1 and the theoretical framework described in Chapter 2.

9.1.1 QUANTITATIVE FINDINGS

The quantitative analysis as the first step of the methodological approach towards this corpus focused on the Fair Youth sequence of the sonnets between numbers 18 to 126 and aimed to answer the following question: Is the gender of the addressee in the individual poems defined in the male/female binary? The following graph collates the chronological results from all fifteen translations, together with the original English source text.



The results are separated into two categories with the year of the Velvet Revolution in 1989 serving as the pivot point for the enquiry, and it is immediately apparent that these two groups show some marked differences. The first group of translations conducted before the year 1989 appears largely homogeneous in its results, unified through both a larger number of sonnets dedicated to a male recipient and a smaller number of ambiguous ones compared to Shakespeare's original version. With the negligible exception of Vrchlický discussed in section 8.1.1., there are also no female-addressed sonnets within this corpus. In marked contrast, the results after the year 1989 show significant differences between the individual editions; what immediately stands out is Macek's translation with a high number of female addressed sonnets, not present anywhere in the source or other target texts, as well as Josek's and Pinkava's notably high ratio of gender ambiguous poems compared to the rest of the corpus. The difference suggests a change of translation strategy compared to the rest of the translators, which has its own implications on the reading of the sonnets as a collection of homoerotic poetry.

As was explained previously, the grammatical differences between source language and target languages compel the translators to either assign a gender to a large number of originally ambiguous poems, or to significantly alter the text of the poems in order to avoid using gendered grammatical forms and vocabulary. As the corpus of this study is limited to the sonnets numbered 18 to 126 that are in the traditional reading of the sonnets part of the male-addressed Fair Youth sequence containing only gender ambiguous or male-addressed sonnets[50], the decision of the great majority of the translators to follow the first option is perhaps predictable. Nevertheless, the decision has far-reaching implications for possible readings of the sonnets. While the original corpus of 109 poems has only twelve mentions of a male recipient, some of the translated versions have up to sixty instances where this recipient is unequivocally confirmed as being male based on the grammatical forms and other male markers. This difference inevitably shifts the interpretative field of the sonnets and strengthens the possibility for the reader to decode the whole 18-126 corpus as being a sequence of amorous verse written by a man for another man. This is further

[50] With the exception of sonnets 41 and 42 discussed in section 3.2.1.

supported by the fact that poetry collections are not always read in a linear, cover-to-cover way expected of narrative fiction, as they lend themselves to cyclical re-readings of selected parts. The likelihood that the reader of these Czech and Slovak versions would, following this approach, randomly reach a sonnet clearly dedicated to a male recipient are considerably higher than in the same selective reading of the English version.

The fact that the translations from Macek, Josek and Pinkava take an alternative course and go against the overall trend of the rest of the corpus does not on its own constitute a sign of censorship; indeed, all three translators mention in their paratextual and epitextual notes that they consider their own work to be within the interpretative rights of the original collection and that they do not attempt to hide the homoerotic elements from the sonnets. However, a closer qualitative examination of the translations reveals that their decisions go beyond the simple choice of one of the many interpretative options that the sonnets provide, as was analysed through a qualitative analysis that formed the second stage of the enquiry.

9.1.2 QUALITATIVE FINDINGS

The second part of the analysis focused on two key types of textual, contextual and paratextual clues; those that further confirm the male gender of the addressee within the 18-126 corpus, and those that define or name the type of relationship between the author of the sonnets and their recipient. The results are again intriguing, particularly when combined with the quantitative analysis. As was shown in chapter 8 as well as in occasional comparisons throughout the earlier parts, the translations conducted before the revolution in 1989 are all remarkably homogenous in both of the aforementioned aspects. Nouns and other male markers from the original collection are almost always translated with corresponding masculine nouns or express the male gender of the recipient through other grammatical categories within the individual sonnets. The affection described in the poems is likewise as strong as in the original version and the translations do not show any attempts at either diminishing or modifying this affection into more friendship- or family-based feelings. This was shown by the remarkably frequent use of the verb *milovat/milovat'* and other words derived from it, the use of which in both languages strongly suggests romantic and

passionate emotions. Equally noteworthy is the frequent reappearance of the noun *milý* in all of the seven pre-revolutionary translations, which further confirms the recipient of the sonnets as decidedly male and positions him vis-à-vis the author into the narrative of a committed, romantic relationship. It could be argued that the interpretative field for understanding the sonnets as a collection of amorous poetry from a man to another man is wider than in the original collection, given the fact that the English verb *love* used throughout the corpus can be equally assigned to a platonic as well as a romantic relationship.

The most striking feature of these pre-revolutionary translations is the homogeneity in their approach towards the subject of same-sex affection in the sonnet collection. Whether the translators are Czech or Slovak, whether they are professional translators or they viewed the sonnets only as a compelling linguistic challenge, whether they worked in the first years of the communist rule in Czechoslovakia, in the depth of the post-1968 normalisation period or in its last decade of the 1980s, all the translators are remarkably consistent in one point; their work shows no intention to alter, obscure or remove the possibility to read the sonnets as a collection of highly emotionally charged poems written by a man for another man. This fact questions the logical assumption that the highly restrictive communist regime that permeated all levels of Czechoslovak society during the four decades of its rule, and that considered non-normative sexualities to be an undesirable phenomenon that should not be represented within the public sphere, would strive to remove elements of same-sex love from a poetry collection that was retranslated and republished with such frequency.

The year 1989 brought wide-ranging changes to all strata of the society, and a broad variety of different approaches towards the homoerotic aspects of the sonnets in Czech and Slovak translations. Mirroring the quantitative results, the qualitative analysis of the post-1989 corpus again shows marked differences between individual translation strategies and the resulting interpretative possibilities of the sonnets. While four translators - Hodek, Hilský, Feldek and Uličný - analysed in section 8.2. show approaches similar to the pre-revolutionary corpus and render the love and affection in the sonnets with terms associated primarily with romantic bonds, the four remaining translators all show a consistent use of approaches that change or erase elements that

invite the reader to interpret the sonnets as a collection of amorous poetry written from a man to another man or men. Macek's translation strongly suggests that the narrative in the Fair Youth sequence is dedicated to a female recipient, creating a heteronormative narrative connected with the following Dark Lady part of the collection. Josek avoids the gendering of poems including some that are clearly male-addressed in the original version and leaves the reader to supplicate the missing gender, which under the prevalent heteronormative structures is likely to be decoded as female. Urbánková's translation retains the male recipient, but her subtle contextual shifts strongly suggest that the relationship between him and the author is platonic and friendship-based. Pinkava's alternative interpretations provided in paratextual comments persuade the reader to see abstract or familial relationships in the place of same-sex affection and desire.

If the translations published during the socialist regime form a corpus that is consistently applying similar strategies towards the subject of same-sex affection in the sonnets, the post-revolutionary group is striking through its varied approach to the same. Within a time span of less than twenty years, the readers were able to read the collection with a Fair Youth sequence dedicated to a woman but also one with almost no indication of the gender of this addressee, a collection that suggests that the sonnets concern friendship or familial relationships, as well as several collections that leave the homoerotic affection intact. While censorship of same-sex elements in the sonnets is not a novel subject in the history of the collection, as was described both in section 1.1. mapping the reception of the collection in English speaking countries as well as by the two existing studies within translation studies by Delabastita (1985) and Toury (2012), what is remarkable is the time period in which these changes occur. Starting from Macek's 1992 edition, which is the first one published after the Velvet Revolution, and continuing through Urbánková's in 1997, Josek's in 2008 to Pinkava's 2010 version which is the most recent new complete translation of the sonnets, all editions showing signs of censorship were published in the present day, democratic era of the Czech Republic and Slovakia, at a time when the publishing process should be devoid of political influence or censorial regulations typical for the previous regime. Moreover, two of these translations were published by the translators themselves – Josek's in his own publishing house *Romeo* and Pinkava's through the self-publishing

platform *CreateSpace* – which removes the possibility of any external interventions in the translation process.

The overall results of both analytical stages could be simplified as a complete and repeated absence of visible attempts to censor elements of same-sex love in translation before 1989, and a variety of different approaches including different types of censorship after this year. Seen from this overall perspective, the imbalance suggests that a seemingly logical correlation between tight political control and censorship, which disappears once ideological pressures are removed, cannot be applied in this case. It is clear that some changes occurred between the publication of the wholly uncensored sonnets before the year 1989 and the censored elements in present-day sonnets, and I argue that these shifts can be correlated to the changing perception of same-sex affection and desire rather than to a shift in state-imposed norms present in the individual time periods. The following section will embed the results of the analysis into the proposed framework from queer theory as described in chapter 2 and consider to what degree such an enquiry can be beneficial within the study of translation strategies.

9.2 SONNET TRANSLATIONS IN A QUEER HISTORICAL FRAMEWORK

The key aim of this study was to apply the scholarship from queer theory surrounding the shifting conceptualisation of non-normative sexualities onto a historical translation corpus and confirm its relevance. This theoretical framework, introduced in Chapter 2, proposes to change the angle with which we perceive the results of the analysis; instead of asking what was the legislative stance towards homosexuality in the historical eras that this corpus covers and how this stance was applied by the governing bodies in the shape of textual and structural censorship, it is instead focusing on the question of how *homosexuality* itself was and is perceived, depicted and understood in these eras, and whether this conceptualisation of it could bear an influence on the translation process.

The theoretical framework exploring the existing scholarship on the history of male homosexuality within queer theory begun with the work of the French philosopher Michel Foucault. While the conditions in socialist Czechoslovakia differ

from the Western examples in *The History of Sexuality* (1978), the governmental decision to view homosexuality as a sexual deviation that rarely permeated beyond the medical sphere certainly resembles the overarching power structures in Western history that 'provide for relatively obscure areas of tolerance' (p.101) mentioned by Foucault. As the oral testimony in section 1.3.2. shows, the very verbalisation of the word *lesbians* was impossible within public discourse; without proofs of any sexual conduct between the respondent and her partner, nobody could openly accuse them of being gay. I argue that the love and devotion described in the sonnets before the Velvet Revolution could likewise be seen as symptomatic of these *obscure areas of tolerance*, as they were not part of the medical and/or sexualised discourse targeted by the regime. The seven pre-revolutionary sonnet translations can speak freely about Shakespeare's love for the fair youth from these obscure areas, published even under the watchful eye of the censor who would not dare, or perhaps not think, to directly identify them as homosexual.

Foucault's second claim concerns the 'birth' of homosexuality in the second half of the 19th century, when a sudden interest in human sexuality allowed homosexuality to become a species (p.43) but at the same time opened spaces for backlash in the form of homophobia. While it cannot be claimed that homosexuality itself was not contextualised in socialist Czechoslovakia at all, it was considered an ideologically unsuitable element of society and was almost completely removed from public discourse as well as from the active consciousness of the heterosexual majority. The events of the Velvet Revolution and the immediate influx of information from the West following the fall of the Iron Curtain led to unprecedented visibility for non-heterosexual citizens of Czechoslovakia described by Lorencová (2006). This resembles Foucault's 'discovery' of homosexuality by Westphal, and was likewise followed by immediate societal fear of this seemingly new minority. Within the context of these paramount changes, it is particularly interesting to look at the translation from Miroslav Macek as the first version of the sonnets published after the Velvet Revolution in 1992. The translation, with its unsubtle heterosexualisation of a large part of the corpus constitutes the first overt attempt at censorship of same-sex elements in the sonnets within Czechoslovakia's history, and is indicative of a change in the perception in both the eye of the translator as well as the general public. For the

first time in the sonnets' history in Czechoslovakia, a translator felt the need to alter the message and imagery the sonnets carry to their readers, changing the narrative to an overwhelmingly heteronormative one. Macek ostentatiously claims that he is merely interpreting the sonnets according to his personal taste, and these in turn correlate with both his political views and personal opinions he shares on social media. The strength of these arguments allows us to consider Macek as the first homophobic translator of the sonnets; not because the previous seven translations were all done by people who were in favour of same-sex relationships (indeed this is almost impossible to ascertain in the case of the pre-revolutionary translators), but because overt homophobia itself can only exist if homosexuality too is a visible presence within a society's consciousness. By the same line of reasoning, the love and affection described in the sonnets is for the first time identified as potentially homosexual, in the same way as Czechoslovak gays and lesbians found their lost voices in the post-revolutionary republic.

The second part of the theoretical framework introduced one of the founders of queer theory itself, Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick. The liminal spaces between the homoerotic and homosocial concepts Sedgwick discusses in *Between Men* closely resembles the relationship between the characters in the Fair Youth sequence of the sonnets, as the frequently abstract language veiled in poetic symbolism opens the interpretation to both the platonic and sexual. If socialist Czechoslovakia was 'largely organized along homosocial lines', as the Dutch historian Gert Hekma suggests (2007:9), it is plausible to assume that the *homosocial* encompassed a much larger range of expressions and characteristics than in the strongly heteronormatised structures post-1989. I suggest that, before the Velvet Revolution, the relationship described in the sonnets fitted into this wide interpretation of homosociality and was therefore perceived as normative, allowing the sonnets to exist uncensored in their translated forms. The Velvet Revolution of 1989 brought changes that resemble the issues questioned by Sedgwick's second work, *The Epistemology of the Closet* (1990). The dismantling of the socialist regime and the sudden visibility of non-heterosexual members of society led to a sudden pressure to categorise everyone depending on their sexual orientation, as newly defined by the scholarship introduced from the West. The removal of taboos surrounding homosexuality and the dismantling of the strongly

homosocial patterns of male relationships both meant that the sonnets had to be reconsidered and re-categorised along these new structures. The appearance of the various forms of censorship that can be detected in this new era show that the love depicted in them no longer fit into the normative patterns embedded in society, and their message had to be altered in order to adjust them to the translators' or editors' perception of the homoerotic and the homosocial. The awareness of the shifting border between the concepts relating to sexuality therefore becomes crucial in understanding the patterns in translations observed in this thesis, which is one of the core messages of Sedgwick's work (1990:1).

While Judith Butler's *Gender Trouble* (1999) is primarily concerned with the issues of gender as opposed to sexuality, its key ideas can likewise aid in understanding the results of the analysis for this project, and in particular the translation of Jiří Josek from 2008. Josek systematically removes elements from the sonnets that suggest that the recipient in the Fair Youth sequence is male, seemingly creating a neutral and unbiased collection open to any interpretation. If, as Butler suggests, gender is a social construct generated through society's anticipation of repeated patterns of behaviour, this neutrality is deceptive. Within a heteronormative society, the assumption that the object of romantic affection of a male author will be female is ubiquitous. The anticipation of a heterosexual relationship, created by patterns repeated in countless narratives in media and public discourse as well as centuries of poetic traditions, severely limits the possibilities for Josek's collection to be read as love poems between two men.

While the field of queer theory covers a multitude of areas, the one most applicable to this project is the strand that explores how to conduct historical research into human sexuality and, in particular, male same-sex relations. David Halperin's suggestion that the 21st century Western concept of homosexuality consists of several pre-homosexual elements that were all viewed differently across time and space echoes particularly well with the two contrasting regimes in Czechoslovakia. While of course (male) homosexuality as a concept existed before 1989, section 1.3.3. suggested that its interpretative field was narrower both on the Western side of the Iron Curtain and in the present-day understanding of the term in the Czech Republic and Slovakia. This opens the possibility that some of the pre-homosexual elements mentioned by

Halperin were indeed at least partly perceived as not directly connected with homosexuality under the socialist regime. Unlike Shakespeare's Renaissance perception of effeminacy as a symptom of heightened heterosexuality (section 2.6.), socialist sexology, still largely based on early psychoanalytical teachings, considered it directly tied to male homosexuality, in the same way as masculine behaviour was predictably associated with lesbian women (Sokolová, 2015:258). The emphasis on the sexual aspects of male same-sex relations meant that both 'active' and 'passive' participation in sexual intercourse were considered homosexual as well. It is Halperin's last category that seems to have changed most dramatically with the Velvet Revolution, and that can shed further light onto the sonnet analysis of this work. As described in section 1.3.3. on examples from propaganda pictures, military imagery and patterns of behaviour in popular media, the socialist regime in the former Eastern bloc including Czechoslovakia cherished and glorified close, intimate and loving same-sex relationships. In particular, male friendship or comradeship was strongly promoted as one of the building blocks of society, and these close relationships were frequently accompanied by verbal and non-verbal signs of affection. The sonnets themselves offer an important clue to this desexualised view of intimate male friendships in the paratextual comments to the 1964 edition from Vrchlický and Klášterský. This edition, aimed at academic audiences and furnished with several expert commentaries on Shakespeare's plays and poems, claims that the love in the sonnets is compliant with Renaissance cults of friendship and therefore 'it is not necessary to suspect the poet of unnatural inclinations' (p.602). The author of this commentary, the esteemed professor of English studies Otakar Vočadlo, then proceeds to name a number of male couples from literature (Amis and Amilon), classical mythology (Achilles and Patroclus) and the Bible (David and Johnathan). These pairs of friends, as Vočadlo claims, are examples of pure and devoted friendship that are wholly unrelated to any 'abnormal bonds' (ibid.). Similarly, Urbánková, in paratextual comments to the 1976 edition of the sonnets, emphasises the purity of the poems as well as the supposedly universal yearning for the type of 'unconditional comradeship' (p.172) displayed between the author and the young man. All of these examples show that close, intimate, and loving male relationships that included both open admissions of feelings and physical displays of affection were, at least within the official

discourse, disconnected from the widespread conceptualisation of homosexuality. This can be easily linked with the fact that homosexuality was viewed through a predominantly medical lens and depicted primarily as (deviant) sexual behaviour. Without public discussions on subjects like gay marriage or adoption for same-sex parents, and without any representation in media of same-sex couples engaging in non-sexual acts of intimacy like holding hands or kissing, the very possibility of romantic feelings between two men or two women went largely unnoticed. Homosexuality, as understood in socialist Czechoslovakia, was largely devoid of the element of male love and friendship as described by Halperin. The situation changed rapidly with the year 1989 and the influx of information from beyond the now fallen Iron Curtain, as well as with the mobilisation of the non-heterosexual population within Czechoslovakia itself. The external and internal pressures for political and social change and heightened representation of same-sex love and desire in all its forms quickly helped to create an image of homosexuality compliant with the Western conceptualisation of it. While it cannot be claimed that the whole population of Czechoslovakia accepted romantic love between two men or two women to be equal with heterosexual love, the idea that two men or two women can have romantic feelings for each other was not a radical thought anymore.

Let us now apply this hypothesis onto the results of the analysis from this thesis. The Fair Youth sequence of the sonnets uses highly abstract language to speak of the strongest possible feelings of love but lacks any overt mentions of sexual involvement between the author and the male beloved. It is not difficult to imagine how this type of narrative could easily find its place in a culture that glorified and promoted strong male bonds and that did not recognise male love as symptomatic of homosexual affection. The Czech and Slovak sonnets published before the year 1989 not only reproduce the deep infatuation of the author in their translation, but often amplify the message with the use of nouns and verbs frequently connected to romantic relationships. In a society that does not recognise that two men could have romantic feelings for each other but that promotes strong platonic same-sex bonds, these expressions would naturally be perceived as the highest possible form of such a connection. The sonnets show no signs of censorship because the link between the unwanted societal element of homosexuality and strong affection between persons of

the same sex was blurred, if not severed completely. This is not to claim that they were interpreted in this way by all of the readers of the collection; indeed, it is probable that many non-heterosexual readers of the sonnets in this time period recognised their own feelings in Shakespeare's text, and it is particularly intriguing to imagine that the apparent blindness of the regime to this issue enabled some readers to find the representation they could not find elsewhere. As Halperin stresses in his paper that analyses Foucault's *History of Sexuality*, the argument of changing perception of same-sex desire applies to overarching power structures and not to individuals living in particular time periods (1998:99-100). While the analysis focuses on *translators*, it is nearly impossible to ascertain what they as individuals thought about the love encoded in the sonnets. Those working before the year 1989 had little opportunity to leave any statements on their own stance towards same-sex love as is possible in our era of free speech and widespread social media. However, translations are not created in a vacuum and are a necessary mirror of the time period in which they are written and published. While many of the pre-revolutionary translators were well-respected academics and specialists in their field, their work would also be subjected to rigorous editorial examination as well as pass through several stages of censorial control. Despite these factors, none of the Czech and Slovak versions of the sonnets before the year 1989 show any signs of censorship of either the male gender of the recipient of the sonnets nor of the strength of the affection expressed by the author towards this person. Once we position these facts within the wider context of how male affection as well as male homosexuality was viewed in this time period, the reason for this seems obvious; if such expressions of ardent love between two men are normalised within society, there is no need to apply any form of censorship to the text of the sonnets.

When the events of the Velvet Revolution and the subsequent societal changes shifted the perception of what constitutes homosexuality and opened up the possibility of romantic same-sex affection, the approach to the sonnets shifted too. While some translators decide to continue with strategies similar to the pre-1989 editions, presumably aware that the sonnets will in the new socio-political climate be perceived differently, others decide to alter their approach. Perhaps the most significant example of this change can be seen in the translation strategies of Jarmila Urbánková. Her 1997 version of the sonnets systematically alters and minimises expressions and keywords

related to strong feelings of love and devotion in the sonnets and replaces them with a vocabulary more commonly associated with friendship. This becomes particularly compelling if we compare this approach with her partial translations from the 1976 collection, which does not show any signs of such attempts. It is clear that, within this timespan, a change in perception must have occurred. The sonnets in their original form could no longer be perceived as expressions of devoted friendship as was the case during socialist times and had to be altered for their publication in the new post-communist society in order to convey a similar message. This change is best illustrated through Halperin's own quote in the section on male love and friendship:

> It is difficult for us moderns, with our heavily psychologistic model of the human personality, of conscious and unconscious desire, and our heightened sensitivity to anything that might seem to contravene the strict protocols of heterosexual masculinity, to avoid reading into such passionate expressions of male love a suggestion of "homoeroticism" at the very least, if not of "latent homosexuality"— formulations that often act as a cover for our own perplexity about how to interpret the evidence before us. (2000:101)

The Czech Republic and Slovakia in their post-1989 stages certainly belong to the 'us' of Halperin's 'moderns', and it is plausible to suggest that it is partly this heightened sensitivity to non-normative masculine behaviour that causes translators and publishers in this new era to read the sonnets with a degree of perplexity not present in the previous regime. It is necessary to point out that while I present some of the translators as 'censors' throughout this work, it is highly likely they themselves would not consider their works as censored in any way. I am certain they all produced a version of the sonnets that they perceived as the best representation of the original text, and none of them started their work with a conscious decision to conceal parts of it. The fact that these versions obscure or remove elements of same-sex affection are again symptomatic of larger trends that are determined by the shifting power structures under which these translations were created and published.

The framing of the results of the analysis within the structures of queer theory above demonstrates the importance of these factors within the study of translations, but also brings attention to the dangers of a teleological perception of history that is

criticised within the scholarship on queer temporality. The development of LGBTQ+ rights in the countries of the former Eastern bloc is not a straightforward, linear journey from persecution towards complete acceptance, as described by Kulpa et.al, (2012), and the same proves true in the developments in translation practices. As this analysis has shown, translation strategies do not follow a logical chain of evolution from heavily censored towards the open, transparent and tolerant. Perhaps the most significant example of this are the translations of Jiří Josek and Václav Z.J. Pinkava. Their versions of the sonnets are the two most recent ones, both published after the year 2006 that marks the legalisation of civil partnerships for same-sex couples in the Czech Republic. While this change in legislation is only one of the stages in the still long fight for complete equality for the non-heterosexual (and non-cisgender) population of the country, it is a monumental step for society - particularly when compared to Slovakia, where such a change is still unimaginable even in the year 2018. It would be logical to assume that this shift would finally allow the sonnets to exist in an unaltered form, leaving the readers to decide for themselves whether they want to interpret it as a tale of platonic friendship or as amorous poetry between two men. This is not the case however, and both Josek and Pinkava use strategies that either obscure or alter the interpretative potential of the sonnets. This awareness of the cyclical nature of history is frequently missing from historical research within queer translation studies, which often focuses on isolated instances or particular eras of a linguistic field. As this project has shown, the perception of same-sex affection and desire can change even in a relatively short period of time and retain unique characteristics within individual linguistic communities, which opens up possibilities for further research within the still developing field of queer translation studies. This work attempts to bring further attention to those 'recursive eddies and back-to-the-future loops that often pass undetected or uncherished beneath the official narrations of the linear sequence' (1996:158) that Annamarie Jagose uses to describe the focus of queer temporality, and remind us that, as translation scholars, we need to be aware of the non-teleological and sometimes unpredictable nature of history.

Let us now, at last, return to the original research question that was asked at the beginning of this project: *Is there a correlation between the changing perception of non-normative sexualities across time and space as suggested in findings of queer*

theory, and the portrayal of same-sex affection and desire in a series of repeated translations over a correspondingly long time period? The results of the quantitative and qualitative analyses viewed within the proposed theoretical framework strongly suggest that such a correlation does exist, as the outcome creates a relatively coherent picture once viewed through the perspective of a shifting conceptualisation of non-normative sexualities. The confirmation of this hypothesis offers clear implications for the field of queer translation studies, where it affirms that no critical enquiry into the translations of texts with queer elements can be complete without a prior examination of how terms like *homosexuality* or *same-sex love* were conceptualised in the given target culture. These findings can be directly applied to research that maps translation strategies of texts with overt or covert queer subtext across different time periods, and could contest some of the existing findings within the field of queer translation studies. Gorjanc (2012) maps the different versions of Slovenian translations of *The Merchant of Venice*, but although his samples are from the years 1905, 1921 and 1972, the study does not consider how the relationship between Bassanio and Antonio would change in the eyes of the translators, editors or publishers in these very different socio-political eras. In the light of the present research, we need to question whether terms like 'heteronormativity' can be used for translations produced at a time when homosexuality itself was a barely used concept, usually limited to medical and psychoanalytical discourse. Likewise, Linder's 2004 research mapping censorial changes to Raymond Chandler's *The Big Sleep* during Franco's regime in Spain could benefit from a more nuanced insight into how these censors perceived or identified homosexuality, and how these definitions intersected with other censored issues he finds in his research like female sexuality or gun violence. As queer translation studies is presently such a young and rapidly growing field, I find it particularly important to bring further awareness to these changing perceptions of same-sex affection as one of the central concepts for all studies that operate on a space-time continuum within this research area.

The findings likewise question some of the traditional and seemingly logical assumption about translation and censorship under restrictive regimes that correlate dictatorial and totalitarian regimes with extensive textual interventions in the name of ideological requirements. This work joins several recent collections on censorship in

translation that question such a simplified view of politically restrictive regimes and the ensuing censorship of textual productions (Billiani, 2007; Ní Chuilleanáin et al., 2009) and that suggest that the seemingly obvious correlation is in reality much more nuanced and complicated. Every regime and political establishment studied in these collections has its own primary censorial interests, based on its ideological values and priorities, as well as its own tools to enforce these standards. It is also important to point out that the very medium of translation presents its own possibilities for avoiding some of the censorial attention; as suggested by Francesca Billiani, 'a text to be translated allows translators a greater degree of paradoxically productive freedom' (2007:4). An example of this can be seen in Brian Baer's study of censorship of queer texts in Soviet Russia (2011b) where he identifies the phenomenon of *productive censorship*. This allowed translators to encode homoerotic subtext into their works in a way that was invisible to the censors but that could be decoded by attentive readers, which allowed translators to publish queer content that was otherwise inaccessible. While there remains the possibility that some of the pre-revolutionary translators were consciously or subconsciously producing the sonnets as a collection of poetry that could potentially resonate with the non-heterosexual population of Czechoslovakia, such a theory is nearly impossible to confirm in retrospect - particularly as many of these translators have died long before the writing of this thesis. The most compelling reason to question such a conscious aim is the aforementioned homogeneity in the seven pre-revolutionary translations, which, instead of being a sporadic, subversive act of one or several translators, points instead towards a more lasting trend in this period of Czechoslovakia's history.

These results also further strengthen the need to recognise the singular position of Central European countries of the former Eastern bloc and challenge a binary division of the world into colonising and colonised countries. As the Polish team of queer translation scholars point out, Central and Eastern European countries are 'seen as geographically close enough to become incorporated into the universal, invisible Europeanness, but, paradoxically, sufficiently far away enough to be discursively framed as the cultural Other' (Kulpa et al., 2012:117). This work hopes to contribute to a heightened visibility of this frequently underrepresented area of translation studies, and fill some of the blank spaces in Czechoslovakia's literary history. The results can

also be seen as a small-scale pilot study for wider research into the workings of Czechoslovak publishing and translation during the communist era, and inspire researchers to initiate similar projects as Gombár's endeavour to map the publishing structures and hierarchies in communist Hungary (2018).

Finally, the results also bring interesting conclusions for research in translation studies outside of overtly or covertly queer texts in Central and Eastern European countries. The awareness of the cyclicality of historical development is vital in any exploration of translation history and warns against teleological and linear narratives that lead from the blurred towards the clear, from the constrained towards the liberated. The seemingly logical correlations between ideology, censorship and translation need to be examined from angles that are perhaps not obvious at first sight, and the allegedly stable concepts and delineations that are imposed on human experiences and identities have to be questioned and re-examined. Queer theory is a powerful methodological tool that not only challenges the traditional definitions of gender and desire, but also destabilises the norms, binaries and categories that are present in all structures of our societies. Its inclusion into the field of translation studies can further widen the possibilities for critical insight into the factors that influence the translation process as well as help to explain how translations are perceived within their respective temporal and spatial contexts.

While the scope of this study is limited in its focus on the translation of a single source text within two relatively small linguistic communities, future studies could test the framework on a larger linguistic area and examine its applicability through a comparison across a wider range of socio-political and cultural spheres. Other parts of the queer spectrum that could not be addressed within the limitations of this work could likewise become a subject of enquiry, in particular the question of non-binary identities moving across strictly grammatically gendered linguistic areas. Above all, this work encourages and invites further endeavours to question some of the traditional structures within the field of translation studies, and to look at translations through an unconventional, non-normative, *queer* lens.

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APPENDIX

1. CORPUS OVERVIEW

The following table provides an overview of the fifteen Czech and Slovak sonnet translations that form the corpus of this work with their respective publishing details. Only reprints in different publishing houses are listed in the table.

TRANSLATORS	YEAR	PUBLISHER	LANGUAGE
Antonín Klášterský	1923	J. Šnajdr	Czech
1948 Communist Coup d'état			
Jan Vladislav	1955	Státní nakladatelství krásné literatury, hudby a umění	Czech
	1958	Mladá Fronta	
	1969	Československý Spisovatel	
	1970	Máj	
Stanislav Blaho	1958	Slovenský spisovateľ	Slovak
Jaroslav Vrchlický and Antonín Klášterský	1964	Státní nakladatelství krásné literatury a umění	Czech
Břetislav Hodek, Zdeněk Hron, František Hrubín, Erik Adolf Saudek, Pavel Šrut, Miloslav Uličný and Jarmila Urbánková	1976	Československý spisovatel	Czech
Zdeněk Hron	1986	Lyra Pragensis	Czech
	2001	BB art	
Anna Sedlačková	1987	Slovenský Spisovateľ	Slovak
	1998	Nestor	
1989 Velvet Revolution			
Miroslav Macek	1992	Lyra Pragensis	Czech
	2008	XYZ	
1993 Devolution of Czechoslovakia			
Břetislav Hodek	1995	Lyra Pragensis	Czech
Jarmila Urbánková	1997	Arca JiMfa	Czech
Martin Hilský	1997	Torst	Czech
	2004	Atlantis	
	2012	Vyšehrad	
Ľubomír Feldek	2001	Petrus	Slovak
	2006	Ikar	
Miloslav Uličný	2005	Mladá Fronta	Czech
	2015	Nová Vlna	
Jiří Josek	2008	Romeo	Czech
Václav Z. J. Pinkava	2010	CreateSpace	Czech

2. QUANTITATIVE SONNET ANALYSIS - OVERALL RESULTS

The following table collates the results from the quantitative analyses of the fifteen Czech and Slovak sonnet translations, using the same colours and acronyms as the partial tables in the analytical chapters of the thesis.

	M	F	-	B
Shakespeare 1609	12	0	95	2
Klášterský 1923	58	0	49	2
Vladislav 1955	59	0	48	2
Blaho 1958	50	0	57	2
Vrchlický-Klášt. 1964	48	3	54	4
Saudek et.al. 1976	51	0	56	2
Hron 1986	58	0	49	2
Sedlačková 1987	63	0	44	2
Velvet Revolution 1989				
Macek 1992	11	33	63	2
Hodek 1995	54	0	53	2
Urbánková 1997	53	0	54	2
Hilský 1997	41	0	66	2
Feldek 2001	47	0	60	2
Uličný 2005	53	0	54	2
Josek 2008	8	0	99	2
Pinkava 2010	16	0	91	2

3. QUANTITATIVE SONNET ANALYSIS - DETAILED RESULTS

The following table provides detailed results from the quantitative part of the analysis. The columns represent the editions labelled with the initials of their translators in chronological order; VK stands for the Vrchlický and Klášterský 1964 edition, ES for the 1976 collaborative translation started by Erik Saudek. The rows represent individual sonnets between numbers 18 to 126 according to their traditional quarto placements, with the markers M (male), F (female), B (both) and – (neither) indicating the gender of the recipient or recipients in the individual poems.

	WS	AK	JV	SB	VK	ES	ZH	AS	MM	BH	JU	MH	LF	MU	JJ	VP
18	-	M	M	M	-	-	-	M	-	-	-	-	-	M	-	-
19	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	-	M	M	-	M	M	M	M
20	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M
21	-	-	-	-	F	M	M	-	-	M	M	-	-	-	-	-
22	-	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	-	-
23	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
24	-	M	-	M	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
25	-	-	M	-	-	-	-	M	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
26	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	-	M
27	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	M	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
28	-	M	-	-	-	M	M	M	-	-	M	-	M	-	-	-
29	-	-	-	-	-	M	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
30	-	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	-	-	M	-	M	-	-	M
31	-	-	M	-	-	-	M	M	M	M	-	-	-	M	-	-
32	-	-	M	M	-	-	-	-	-	M	-	-	M	-	-	-
33	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	M	-	-	-	-	M	-	-	-
34	-	M	M	M	B	M	M	M	F	M	M	M	M	M	-	-
35	-	M	M	M	-	M	M	M	-	M	M	M	M	M	-	-
36	-	M	M	M	M	M	-	M	-	M	M	M	M	M	-	-
37	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	M	-	M	-	-	-	-	-	-
38	-	M	M	M	M	-	M	M	-	-	M	-	-	M	-	-
39	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	-	M	M	-	-	M	-	-
40	-	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	F	M	M	M	M	M	-	-
41	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
42	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
43	-	M	-	-	-	-	M	-	-	-	-	M	-	-	-	-
44	-	-	-	M	-	-	-	M	F	-	-	-	-	M	-	-
45	-	M	-	-	-	-	M	-	F	M	-	M	-	M	-	-
46	-	-	-	-	-	M	-	-	F	M	-	-	-	-	-	-
47	-	-	M	M	-	M	-	M	F	M	M	-	M	M	-	-
48	-	M	M	M	-	M	M	-	F	M	M	M	-	M	-	-
49	-	M	M	M	-	-	-	-	-	M	M	-	M	-	-	-
50	-	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	F	M	M	-	M	-	-	-
51	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
52	-	M	-	-	M	-	M	M	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
53	-	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M
54	-	-	M	-	-	-	M	-	-	M	-	-	-	-	-	M
55	-	-	-	-	M	M	M	-	-	-	-	M	M	-	-	-
56	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
57	-	M	M	M	-	M	M	-	F	M	M	-	M	M	-	M
58	-	M	M	M	M	M	M	-	F	M	M	M	M	-	-	-
59	-	-	M	-	-	-	M	M	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
60	-	-	M	-	-	-	-	-	M	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
61	-	M	-	-	M	-	M	-	F	-	M	-	-	M	-	-
62	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	M	-	M	M	-	-
63	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	F	M	M	M	M	M	-	M
64	-	-	-	M	M	-	-	M	F	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
65	-	-	-	-	M	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
66	-	M	-	-	M	-	-	M	F	M	-	-	-	-	-	-
67	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M
68	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M
69	-	M	-	-	-	-	M	M	-	M	-	-	-	M	-	-
70	-	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	F	M	M	M	M	M	-	-
71	-	M	-	-	M	-	-	M	-	-	-	M	M	-	-	-
72	-	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	F	M	M	M	M	M	-	-

73	-	M	-	M	M	M	-	-	-	M	M	-	-	M	-	-
74	-	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	-	M	-	M	M	M	-	-
75	-	-	-	-	M	-	M	-	-	-	-	-	M	-	-	-
76	-	M	M	M	-	-	-	-	-	-	M	-	-	-	-	-
77	-	-	M	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	M	M	M	-	-
78	-	-	M	M	-	M	-	-	F	M	M	-	M	-	-	-
79	-	M	-	M	M	M	M	-	F	-	M	-	M	-	-	-
80	-	-	M	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	M	-	-
81	-	-	-	M	M	-	M	-	-	-	M	-	M	-	-	-
82	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	-	M	M	M	M	M	-
83	-	M	M	M	M	M	M	-	F	M	M	M	M	M	-	-
84	-	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	-	M	-	M	-	M	-	-
85	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	M	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
86	-	-	M	-	-	M	M	-	-	M	-	-	-	M	-	-
87	-	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	F	M	M	M	M	M	-	-
88	-	M	M	M	M	-	-	M	F	M	-	-	-	-	-	-
89	-	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	-	M	M	M	M	M	-	-
90	-	-	-	-	-	M	M	M	-	-	-	M	-	M	-	-
91	-	-	-	-	-	M	M	-	-	M	-	-	-	-	-	-
92	-	-	M	M	M	M	M	M	F	M	M	M	-	M	-	-
93	-	M	-	-	-	-	M	M	-	M	M	-	-	-	-	-
94	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
95	-	M	M	-	M	-	M	-	-	-	-	-	M	M	-	-
96	-	M	M	M	B	M	M	M	F	M	M	M	M	M	-	-
97	-	-	-	-	-	M	-	M	-	-	M	-	-	M	-	-
98	-	-	-	-	F	-	M	M	-	-	M	-	-	M	-	-
99	-	M	M	-	F	M	-	M	F	M	M	-	-	-	-	-
100	-	M	-	-	M	-	-	M	-	M	M	-	-	-	-	-
101	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	F	M	M	M	M	M	-	M
102	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
103	-	-	M	-	-	-	-	M	F	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
104	-	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	F	M	M	M	M	M	-	M
105	-	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	F	M	M	M	M	M	-	-
106	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	M	F	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
107	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
108	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	-	M	-	M	M	M	M	M
109	-	M	-	-	-	-	-	M	-	-	M	-	-	-	-	-
110	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	-	M
111	-	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	F	M	M	M	-	M	-	M
112	-	-	M	-	-	-	M	M	F	-	M	-	M	M	-	-
113	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
114	-	M	M	-	M	-	-	-	-	M	-	M	-	-	-	-
115	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
116	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
117	-	M	M	-	M	M	M	M	-	-	M	M	M	-	-	-
118	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	F	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
119	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	M	-	-	-	-
120	-	M	M	-	M	M	M	M	F	-	M	M	M	M	-	-
121	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	M	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
122	-	-	M	M	-	-	-	M	-	M	-	M	-	M	-	-
123	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
124	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	M	-	-
125	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
126	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M

4. FURTHER EXAMPLES – MIROSLAV MACEK

The following part lists further examples of Miroslav Macek's translation approaches, following the order indicated in Chapter 4.

4.1. Feminine adjective used to indicate a female recipient in an ambiguous poem

S.45/12, p.58
Of thy **fair** health, recounting it to me:
*že **krásná** jsi a stále plna zdraví*
[that you are **(f.)pretty** and still full of health]

S.58/9, p.73
Be where you list, your charter is so strong
*Jste zcela **volná**, to se nejvíc cení*
[You are completely **(f.)free**, that is valued above all else]

S.61/14, p.76
From me **far off**, with others all too near.
*mně **vzdálená**, však jiným víc než blíž*
[from me (**f.)distant**, but to others more than close]

S.70/5, p.85
So thou be **good**, slander doth but approve
*Buď **hodná**, potom pomluvou jen získá*
[Be **(f.)good**, then (through) gossip will only gain]

S.120/1, p.139
That you were once **unkind** befriends me now,
*Teď těší mě, že **zlá** jste na mě byla*
[Now it pleases me, that you were **(f.)vicious** towards me]

4.2. Feminine verb used to indicate a female recipient in an ambiguous poem

S.72/2-3, p.87

What merit lived in me, that you should **love**

*co za přednost jste ve mně **milovala**;*

[which advantage you **(f.)loved** in me;]

S.79/14, p.94

Since what he owes thee, thou thyself dost **pay**.

*Vždyť **platila** bys, co ti vlastně dluží*

[since you would **(f.)pay**, what they owe you after all]

S.106/10, p.123

Of this our time, all you **prefiguring**;

*Jak proroctví – vždyť **předběhla** jste čas*

[Like a prophecy – since you **(f.)overtook** the time]

4.3. Feminine pronoun used to indicate a female recipient in an ambiguous poem

S.66/14, p.81

Save that, to die, I leave **my love** alone.

*však opustil bych i **tu**, **co mám rád***

[but I would (m.)leave **her, whom I love/like**]

S.87/5, p.104

For how do I hold thee but **by thy granting**?

***Sama** ses mi do zástavy dala*

[**You** pledged **(f.)yourself** to me]

S.112/7, p.131

None else to me, nor I to **none** alive,

*být jiných nechci, **jiné** nejsou pro mne*

[I do not want to belong to others, the **(f.)others** are not for me]

4.4. Feminine noun used to indicate a female recipient in an ambiguous poem

S.40/13, p.53

Lascivious grace, in whom all ill well shows,

***Má hříšnice**, v níž zlo punc dobra získá*

[**My (f.)sinner**, in whom evil gains the hallmark of good]

S.92/14, p.109

Thou mayst be **false**, and yet I know it not.

*jsi **nevěrnice**, aniž o tom vím?*

[are you a **(f.)betrayer**, without me knowing?]

S.118/5, p.137

Even so, being full of **your ne'er-cloying sweetness**,

*pln vás, **má sladká**, co se nepřejí*

[full of you, **my (f.)sweet**, that does not grow tiresome]

4.5. Feminine noun included without an apparent counterpart in English

S.103/7, p.120

That over-goes my blunt invention quite,

*Můj talent na ně nestačí, **má paní***

[My talent is not enough for them, **my lady**]

4.6. Use of the noun *milá*

S.44/4, p.57

From limits far remote, where thou dost stay.

*Tam do dáli, kde pobýváš, **má milá***

[Into the distance, where you dwell, **my (f.)dear/lover**]

S.47/5, p.60

With **my love's** picture then my eye doth feast

*zrak potěší se obrazem **mé milé***

[the sight rejoices at the picture of **my (f.)dear/lover**]

S.99/5, p.116

In **my love's** veins thou hast too grossly dy'd.

*jak kdybych obsah tepen **milé** pozbyl.*

[as if the content of arteries of my **(f.)dear/lover** was lost.]

S.105/2, p.122

Nor **my beloved** as an idol show,

*vždyť moje **milá** není žádná modla*

[since my **(f.)dear/lover** is no idol]

S.111/13, p.130

Pity me then, **dear friend**, and I assure ye,

*Jen soucit se mnou mějte, moje **milá**,*

[Only pity have with me, my **(f.)dear/lover**,]

4.7. Subtextual changes to nouns and verbs related to love

S.22/9, p.35

O! therefore **love**, be of thyself so wary

A měl bys na své srdce pozor dát

[And you (m.)should take care of your heart]

S.26/13, p.39

Then may I dare to boast **how I do love thee**;

*Pak osmělím se vyjádrit **můj cit***

[Then I dare to express **my feelings**]

5. FURTHER EXAMPLES – JIŘÍ JOSEK

The following part lists further examples of Jiří Josek's translation approaches, following the order indicated in Chapter 5.

5.1. Omitting verbs in past tense

S.35/1, p.45
No more be grieved at **that which thou hast done**:
*Stalo se, stalo, **zapomeň už na to.***
[What happened, happened, **now forget about it**.]

S.40/2, p.49
What hast thou then more than **thou hadst** before?
*nic nového tím stejně **nezískáš**,*
[through that **you will gain** nothing new]

S.89/1, p.98
Say that thou **didst forsake** me for some fault,
***Hledáš-li na mně** jenom spoustu vad,*
[**If you only look for** a lot of my mistakes]

S.120/1, p.128
That **you were once unkind** befriends me now,
*Tvůj přečin vůči mně**, jenž před časem***
[Your misdemeanour towards me, **which some time ago**]

S.74/9, p.82
So then thou hast but lost the dregs of life,
***Ve mně ztratíš** jen krustu života, potravou*
[**In me you only lose** the crust of life, the food]

5.2. Omitting verbs in future tense

S.74/1, p.82

But be contented when that fell arrest

Až smrt přinese zatykač ***a mne***

[When death brings a warrant **and I**]

5.3. Omitting modal verbs

S.84/14, p.93

Being fond on praise, which makes your praises worse.

kdo nechválí tě*, se ti oškliví*

[**who does not praise you**, you are repulsed by]

5.4. Omitting adjectives

S.92/14, p.100

Thou mayst be **false**, and yet I know it not.

že nikdy nevím, ***co si myslíš ty***

[that I never know **what you think**]

S.87/1, p.97

Farewell! thou art **too dear** for my possessing,

Sbohem! ***Na tebe nemám****. Můžeš jít.*

[Farewell! **You are beyond my reach**. You can go.]

S.105/9-10, p.115

'**Fair, kind, and true**,' is all my argument,

'**Fair, kind, and true**,' varying to other words;

Krásu, dobro a pravdu *v tobě hledám,*

krásu, dobro a pravdu *nacházím,*

[**Beauty, goodness and truth** I look for in you

Beauty, goodness and truth I find,]

5.5. Omitting pronouns

S.83/6, p.92
That **you yourself**, being extant, well might show
tvé skvostné kráse *dovolím se skvít*
[**your exquisite beauty** I will allow to shine]

6. FURTHER EXAMPLES – JARMILA URBÁNKOVÁ

The following part lists further examples of Jarmila Urbánková's translation approaches, following the order indicated in Chapter 6.

6.1. Addition of *friend* or *friendly*

S.40/12, p.85
To bear **love's** wrong, than hate's known injury.
se odpouští než ***přítelovu*** *pychu.*
[is forgiven (rather) than **friend's** pride.]

S.89/8, p.183
I will acquaintance strangle, and look strange;
že zardousit chceš náš ***přátelský cit***
[that you want to strangle our **friendly feeling**]

6.2. Replacing *love* with *like*

S.72/2, p.149
What merit lived in me, that you should **love**
čím jsem si zasloužil, že ***mě máš rád***
[with what did I deserve, that **you like me**]

S.115/2, p.235
Even those that said I **could not love you dearer**:
*"****Mám tě tak rád****, že víc už možno není!"*
["**I like you so much**, it is not possible to do so more!"]

Line 9

Might I not then say, '**Now I love you best**,'

*Proč tvrdil jsem: "**Teď' mám tě nejvíc rád**"*

[Why did I claim: "**Now I like you best**"]

S.117/14, p.239

The constancy and virtue of **your love**.

*jak věrně a jak vroucně **máš mě rád***

[how faithfully and ardently **you like me**]

6.3. Sonnet 29, line 13 – comparison of different translations of the expression *For thy sweet love (remember'd such wealth brings)*:

Klášterský	*Tvé sladké **lásky** pamět*	[The memory of your **sweet love**]
Vladislav	*neboť tvá **láska***	[because your **love**]
Blaho	*Ty svojou **láskou***	[You with your **love**]
Vrchlický	*neb **lásky** tvojí pamět*	[for the memory of your **love**]
Saudek	*Tys mi svou **lásku** dal*	[(m.)You gave me your **love**]
Sedlačková	*Keď **myslím na teba***	[When **I think of you**]
Hron	*na tebe jsem **vzpomínal***	[I **thought** of you]
Macek	*tvoje **láska***	[your **love**]
Hodek	***Vzpomínka** na tebe*	[**The memory** of you]
Urbánková	*Tvé **přátelství***	[**Your friendship**]
Hilský	***u tebe jsem***	[**I am with you**]
Feldek	*čo kapitálom / **lásky***	[that capital/ of **love**]
Uličný	*tvou **lásku***	[your **love**]
Josek	*na tvou **lásku***	[of your **love**]
Pinkava	*vzpomínka na tvou **lásku***	[the memory of your **love**]

7. FURTHER EXAMPLES – REMAINING TRANSLATIONS

The following part lists further examples from the remaining pre-revolutionary and post-revolutionary corpus, following the order indicated in Chapter 8.

7.1. *Milovat/milovať* in pre-1989 corpus

S.25/13	Then happy I, that **love** and am belov'd,
Saudek (Hodek) p.31	*Mám štěstí v lásce: tam jsem* ***milován***
	[Lucky in love: I am **loved** there]

S.36/13	But do not so, I **love** thee in such sort,
Blaho p.42	*Nerob to! Teba ja natoľko* ***milujem****,*
	[Do not so! I **love** you to such a degree,]

S.45/6	In tender embassy of **love** to thee,
Hron p.58	*s poselstvím k tobě, jak tě* ***miluji***
	[with a message to you, how I **love** you]

S.71/6	The hand that writ it, for **I love you so**,
Klášterský n.p.	*číst bude verše ten;* ***miloval***
	[the one will read the verse; **loved**]

S.72/14	And so should you, to **love** things nothing worth.
Sedlačková p.167	*Aj napriek všetkému ma ešte* ***miluješ****?*
	[Despite everything you still **love** me?]

S.73/13	This thou perceiv'st, which makes thy **love** more strong,
Vladislav p.97	*To všechno vidíš, a přesto dál* ***miluješ***
	[You see all that, and yet you continue to **love**]

S.73/14	To **love** that well, which thou must leave ere long.
Saudek(Hodek) p.83	***miluješ****, čemu musíš sbohem dát*

	[you **love**, to which you have to bid farewell]
S.88/13	Such is my **love**, to thee I so belong,
Vladislav p.112	*Já tě tak **miluji**, tak jsem ti odevzdán*
	[I **love** you so, I am so devoted to you]
S.89/14	For I must ne'er **love** him whom thou dost hate.
Vladislav p.113	*jak mohu **milovat**, co nenávidíš ty?*
	[how can I **love**, what you hate?]
Vrchlický p.483-4	*mně nelze, kým ty zhrdáš – **milovat**!*
	[I can't, whom you despise – **love**!]
S.96/13	But do not so, **I love thee** in such sort,
Vrchlický p.487	*Ó nečiň toho! **Miluji tě** – můj*[51]
	[O do not so! I **love** you – (m.)mine]
S.105/2	nor my **beloved** as an idol show,
Blaho p.115	*a koho **milujem** nečinnou bábikou*
	[and whom I **love** a passive doll]
S.115/10	Might I not then say, 'Now **I love you** best,'
Klášterský[52] n.p,	*jsem neměl říc: „Teď nejvíc **miluji tě**!"*
	[I should not have said: "Now I **love** you most!"]
S.115/2	Even those that said I could not **love you** dearer:
Sedlačková p.262	*že ťa viac nemôže **milovať** srdce choré*
	[that an ill heart cannot **love** you more]

[51] While Vrchlický switches the gender of the addressee throughout the sonnet, the masculine pronoun *můj* [(m.)mine] clearly confirms that the verb *milovat* refers to a male recipient.
[52] Also used in Vrchlický & Klášterský (1964).

7.2. *Milovat/milovať* in post-1989 corpus

S.20/14	Mine be thy **love** and thy love's use their treasure.
Uličný p.33	*mne **miluj** a je těš svým pokladem*
	[**love** me and pleasure them with your treasure]
S.25/13	Then happy I, that love and am belov'd,
Hilský (l.14) p.133	***miluji** věrně a jsem **milován***
	[I **love** faithfully and am **loved**]
Uličný p.39	*Že **milován** jsem a že **miluji,***
	[That I am **loved** and that I **love**]
S.32/14	Theirs for their style I'll read, his for his **love'**.
Hilský p.147	*je pro styl čtu; jej, že mě **miloval**."*
	[them I read for style; him, because he **loved** me]
S.39/13	Then happy I, that **love** and am **belov'd**,
Hodek p.39	*Mám štěstí v lásce: tam jsem **milován**,*
	[I'm lucky in love: there I am **loved**]
S.41/6	Beauteous thou art, therefore to be assail'd;
Hodek p.55	*Jsi jemný, vhodný k **milování** už*
	[You are gentle, suitable for **loving** already]
S.72/4	For you in me can nothing worthy prove;
Hilský p.227	*mě **miluješ**? – ne, nemáš odpověď.*
	[you **love** me? – no, you have no answer]
S.73/14	To **love** that well, which thou must leave ere long.
Hodek p.89	***miluješ**, čemu musíš sbohem dát*
	[you **love**, to what you need to bid farewell soon]
Hilský p.229	***milovat** víc, co stratíš zanedlouho*
	[to **love** more, what you will soon lose]

S.92/12	Happy to have thy **love**, happy to die!
Feldek p.112	***Milovať'*** *šťastný – šťastný umierať!*
	[To happily **love** – happily die!]
S.110/14	Even to thy pure and most most loving breast.
Hilský p.303	***miluj*** *mne,* ***miluj****, jak já mám rád tebe*
	[**love** me, **love**, as I like you]
S.117/14	The constancy and virtue of your **love**.
Hodek p.137	*pouze jsem zkoušel, jak mě* ***milujete***
	[I was only testing how you **love** me]

7.3. Related adjectives – *milovaný, milujúci,* both pre-and post-1989 corpus

S.19/9	O! carve not with thy hours **my love's** fair brow,
Saudekp.25	*tvář* ***milovaného*** *mi neznešvař*
	[do not taint the face of my **beloved** (to me)]
S.89/10	Thy sweet **beloved** name no more shall dwell,
Vladislav p.113	*už nikdy neřeknu tvé* ***milované*** *jméno*
	[Never again will I say your **beloved** name]
S.89/10	Thy sweet **beloved** name no more shall dwell,
Hilský p.261	*nevyslovím tvé jméno* ***milované****,*
	[I will not speak your **beloved** name,]
Feldek (l.9)	*vyhýbať sa ti budem,* ***milované*** *a sladké tvoje meno na ústach*
	[I will avoid you, the **beloved** and sweet name of yours in my mouth]
S.105/2	Nor my **beloved** as an idol show,
Hodek p.123	*ani můj* ***milovaný*** *modlou zdát*

[nor my **beloved** appear as an idol]

Feldek p.125 ***Milovaného*** *modlou? Nie ste presní.*

[The **beloved** an idol? You are not correct.]

7.4. *Milý* in pre-1989 corpus

S.19/9 O! carve not with thy hours my **love's** fair brow,

Sedlačková p.51 *Nerozry vráskami krásnu tvár* ***milého***

[Do not furrow with wrinkles the beautiful face of my **(m.)dear/lover**]

S.19/14 My **love** shall in my verse ever live young.

Vrchlický p.453 *Můj* ***milý*** *mlád vždy bude žít v mém zpěvu*

[My **(m.)dear/lover** will always live in my song]

Sedlačková p.51 *Môj* ***milý*** *vo veršoch bude žiť večne mladý*

[My **(m.)dear/lover** will in verse forever live young]

S.22/9 O! therefore **love**, be of thyself so wary

Vladislav p.46 *Proto dbej na sebe, snažně tě,* ***milý****, prosím*

[Therefore take care of yourself **(m.)dear/lover**]

Blaho p.28 *Už preto na seba buď opatrný,* ***milý***

[If only for that, be careful with yourself **(m.)dear/lover**]

S.25/13 Then happy I, that **love** and am belov'd

Sedlačková p.63 *Lež ja mám* ***milého*** *a* ***milý*** *zase mňa*

[But I have my **(m.)dear/lover** and my **(m.)dear/lover** in turn has me]

S.40/1 Take all my loves, **my love**, yea take them all;

Klášterský n.p. *Vem vše mé milé,* ***milý****, vše je vem*

[Take all my (f.)dears/lovers, **(m.)dear/lover**, take them all]

S.47/5	With my **love's** picture then my eye doth feast,
Blaho p.53	*vtedy zrak hostí sa obrazom **milého***
	[then the sight enjoys the picture of the **(m.)dear/lover**]
S.63/1	Against my **love** shall be as I am now,
Blaho p.69	*Môj **milý** bude raz, ako som teraz ja*
	[My **(m.)dear/lover** will once be, as I am now]
S.63/12	My **sweet love's** beauty, though my lover's life:
Sedlačková p.147	***milého** peknú tvár, hoc život vezme jeho*
	[**(m.)dear/lover**'s pretty face, even if it takes his life]
S.63/2	With Time's injurious hand crush'd and o'erworn;
Vladislav p.87	*rozdrtí **milého**, jako teď drtí mne*
	[will crush my **(m.)dear/lover**, as it now crushes me]
S.63/11	That **he** shall never cut from memory
Vladislav p.87	*I kdyby vyrvali **milému** život z těla*
	[Even if they would tear the life out of my **(m.)dear/lover**'s body]
S.63/14	And they shall live, and **he** in them still green.
Vladislav p.87	*Bude se **milý** vždy kvetoucí krásou skvít*
	[My **(m.)dear/lover** will always glow with blooming beauty]
S.64/12	That Time will come and take my **love** away.
Vrchlický p.88	*"že tebe čas též urve mi, ó **milý**!"*
	["that time will tear you away too, oh my **(m.)dear/lover**!"]
Blaho p.70	*vtrhne sem zrazu a **milého** odvedie*

	[will suddenly invade and lead my **(m.)dear/lover** away]
S.72/3	After my death,--**dear love**, forget me quite,
Blaho p.81	*ľúbite, zabudnúť musíte na mňa, milý*
	[you love, you have to forget about me, **(m.)dear/lover**]
Saudek (Uličný)	*i po smrti, mne vypusť z hlavy, **milý***
p.81	[even after death, renounce me from your head, **(m.)dear/lover**]
S.88/13	Such is my love, to **thee** I so belong,
Sedlačková p.203	*Všetko zlé pretrpím pre tvoje dobro, **milý**.*
	[I will suffer through all bad for your good, **(m.)dear/lover**]
S.89/5	Thou canst not **love** disgrace me half so ill,
Blaho p.99	*Mňa, **milý**, nemôžeš ponížiť ani spoly*
	[you cannot, **(m.)dear/lover**, humiliate me even by half]
Sedlačková p.204	*Lež tvoje potupy sú, **milý**, spolovice*
	[But your reproaches are, **(m.)dear/lover**, half]
Vrchlický p.483	*mne, **milý**, nemůžeš víc pohanět*
	[you cannot, **(m.)dear/lover**, humiliate me more]
S.95/13	Take heed, **dear heart**, of this large privilege;
Hron p.112	*Na téhle výsadě, můj **milý**, lpi:*
	[To this privilege, my **(m.)dear/lover**, cling]
S.99/3	If not from **my love's** breath? The purple pride
Saudek (Urbánková)	*než od úst **milého**? A nach, co prosvítá*
p.111	[than from the mouth of **(m.)dear/lover**? And the purple that shines through]
Sedlačková p.226	*Len môjho **milého** krása ťa zmámila*

[Only the beauty of my **(m.)dear/lover** did infatuate you]

S.100/9 Rise, resty Muse, **my love's** sweet face survey,
Sedlačková p.231 *Vstaň, Múza márnivá, pohliadni na **milého***
[Rise, vainglorious Muse, look at my **(m.)dear/lover**]

S.105/2 Nor my **beloved** as an idol show,
Saudek (Urbánková) *ani, že idolem je pro mne **milý***
p.117 [or that an idol is for me my **(m.)dear/lover**]
Sedlačková p.240 *a môjho **milého** idolom zbožňovaným*
[and my **(m.)dear/lover** into an adored idol]

S.105/5 Kind is my **love** to-day, to-morrow kind,
Klášterský n.p. *Je dobrý zítra **milý** můj jak dnes*
[My **(m.)dear/lover** is good tomorrow as today]
Vladislav p.129 ***Milý** je laskavý dneska – a zítra zas*
[**(m.)Dear/Lover** is kind today – and tomorrow again]
Blaho p.115 ***Milý** je láskavý zajtra jak v dnešný deň*
[**(m.)Dear/Lover** is kind tomorrow as on this day]
Saudek (Urbánková) *Můj **milý** je tak dobrý, dnes a stále*
p.117 [My **(m.)dear/lover** is so good, today and always]
Sedlačková p.240 *Môj **milý** stále krásny je a úžasný*
[My **(m.)dear/lover** is always beautiful and amazing]

7.5. Milý in post-1989 corpus

S.19/9 O! carve not with thy hours my **love's** fair brow,
Feldek p.39 *Má krásne čelo **milý** – ani na pór*
[My **(m.)dear/lover** has a beautiful forehead – not even on a pore]

S.20/1	A woman's face with nature's own hand painted,
Hilský p.123	*Tak krásnou, ženskou tvář,* ***můj milý****, máš*
	[Such a beautiful, feminine face you have, my **(m.)dear/lover**]
S.22/9	O! therefore **love**, be of thyself so wary
Feldek p.42	*A teda,* ***milý****, daj na seba pozor,*
	[And therefore, **(m.)dear/lover**, take care of yourself]
S.33/13	Yet him for this **my love** no whit disdaineth;
Feldek p.53	***Milého*** *preto haniť nezačnem –*
	[I will not start to shame my **(m.)dear/lover** because of that -]
S.63/1	Against **my love** shall be as I am now,
Feldek p.83	*Keď raz päsť Času môjho* ***milého***
	[When one day the fist of Time my **(m.)dear/lover**]
S.72/3	After my death,**--dear love**, forget me quite,
Feldek p.92	*keď zomriem,* ***milý****, na mňa zabudni!*
	[when I die, **(m.)dear/lover**, forget about me!]
S.79	I grant, **sweet love**, thy lovely argument
Feldek p.99	*Môj* ***milý****, pripúšťam, že k tvojej pleti*
	[My **(m.)dear/lover**, I admit, to your complexion]
S.82/9	And do so, **love**; yet when they have devis'd,
Feldek p.102	*Rob to! No,* ***milý****, keď sa ti už preje*
	[Do that! But, **(m.)dear/lover**, when you grow tired of]
S.95/13	Take heed, **dear heart**, of this large privilege;
Feldek p.115	*Obratne,* ***milý****, drž to svoje právo*

[Skilfully, **(m.)dear/lover**, hold onto that right of yours]

7.6. *Milý* inserted without an apparent counterpart – pre-1989 corpus

S.24/2	Thy beauty's form in table of my heart;
Sedlačková p. 60	*obrysy **milého** na plátno svojho srdca*
	[outlines of **(m.)dear/lover** on the contour of my heart]
S.24/11	Are windows to my breast, where-through the sun
Sedlačková p. 60	*oknami do hrude, cez ktorú zvykne, **milý***
	[windows into the chest, through which often **(m.)dear/lover**]
S.27/8	Looking on darkness which the blind do see:
Sedlačková p.67	*uvidia **milého** a nevnímajú tmu*
	[will see **(m.)dear/lover**, and not perceive the darkness]
S.36/9	I may not evermore acknowledge thee,
Sedlačková p.87	*Nemôžem verejne ťa viacej zdraviť, **milý***
	[I cannot publicly greet you anymore, **(m.)dear/lover**]
S.46/2	How to divide the conquest of thy sight;
Sedlačková p.110	*o korisť najdrahšiu, o portrét **milého***
	[for the dearest trophy, **(m.)dear/lover's** portrait]
S.57/13	So true a fool is love, that in your will,
Sedlačková p.135	*Láska je bláznivá: keď pozriem na **milého***
	[Love is mad: when I look at **(m.)dear/lover**]
S.59/10	To this composed wonder of your frame;
Vladislav p.83	*říci jen starý svět o vaší kráse, **milý***
	[that old world (could) say about your beauty, **(m.)dear/lover**]

S.67/1	Ah! wherefore with infection should he live,
Sedlačková p.156	*Prečo len vo svete skazenom žije* ***milý***
	[Why in a rotten world lives my **(m.)dear/lover**]
S.67/10	Beggar'd of blood to blush through lively veins?
Sedlačková p.156	*okrem tej, čo môžmu* ***milému*** *v žilách prúdi.*
	[except from the one that flows in my **(m.)dear/lover's** veins.]
S.71/5	Nay, if you read this line, remember not
Sedlačková p.146	*Ani si nespomeň, keď čítaš verš ten,* ***milý****,*
	[Do not even remember, when you read that verse, **(m.)dear/lover**]
S.102/13	Therefore like her, I sometime hold my tongue:
Sedlačková p.235	*Preto s tým vtáčaťom zamĺknem aj ja,* ***milý****,*
	[And therefore I will fall silent with that bird too, **(m.)dear/lover**]
S.112/13	You are so strongly in my purpose bred,
Sedlačková p.257	*Mne v srdci kraľuješ oddávna len ty,* ***milý***
	[In my heart you have been always reigning, **(m.)dear/lover**]
S.111/12	Nor double penance, to correct correction.
Sedlačková p.255	*nesprávne napravím, len aby som bol s* ***milým***
	[I will put wrong right again, only to be with **(m.)dear/lover**]

7.7. *Milý* inserted without an apparent counterpart – post-1989 corpus

S.112/2	Your love and pity doth the impression fill,
Feldek p.132	*Zľutuj sa, **milý**, a hneď mizne pečať*
	[Mercy, **(m.)dear/lover**, and the stamp disappears immediately]
S.47/6	A closet never pierc'd with crystal eyes—
Feldek p.67	*kde obraz **milého** sa podáva*
	[where the picture of my **(m.)dear/lover** is served]

7.8. Other related terms of endearment – *miláček/miláčik*, pre- and post-1989

S.19/9	O! carve not with thy hours **my love's** fair brow,
Klášterský n.p.	*Ó nerozryj **miláčku** čela něhu*
	[O do not carve the gentleness of my **(m.)darling's** forehead]
Vrchlický p.453	*Hór lete **miláčka** se netkni čela*
	[Do not touch my **(m.)darling's**'s forehead with the flight of hours]
S.66/12	Save that, to die, I leave **my love** alone
Klášterský n.p.	*jen **miláčka** mi žel je opustit*
	[I am loathe to leave my **(m.)darling**]
S.93/1	Against my love shall be as I am now,
Vrchlický p. 472	*Kdys **miláček** můj bude, co jsem dnes,*
	[When **(m.)darling** will be, what I am today]
S.93/12	My **sweet love's** beauty, though my lover's life:
Klášterský n.p.	*nechť život přetne, **miláčkova** vděku*
	[may life cut, thanks to my **(m.)darling**]

S.105/2	Nor my beloved as an idol show,
Vladislav p.129	*netvrďte, že je mou modlou tvář* ***miláčkova***
	[do not claim that my **(m.)darling's** face is an idol]

S.76/9	O! know **sweet love** I always write of you,
Uličný p.89	*O tobě musím,* ***miláčku****, vždy psát*
	[About you, **(m.)darling**, always write]

7.9. Comparison of pre-revolutionary translations of line 6 from sonnet 23

S.23/6	The perfect **ceremony of love's rite**,

Klášterský n.p.	*jsem říkat správně* ***obřad lásky ritu***
	[to say rightly **the ceremony of love's ritual**]
Blaho p.29	*v* ***obrade ľúbosti****, jak treba, zabúdam*
	[in the **ritual of love**, as should be, I forget]
Vrchlický p.454	*vše dělati, co žádá* ***lásky řád***
	[do everything, that **love's order** demands]
Hron p.36	***rituál, kterým láska začíná***
	[**ritual, with which love begins**]
Sedlačková p.58	*zabúdam povedať nejakú* ***vetu milú***
	[I forget to say **a kind sentence**]